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PREFACE.

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THE recent expeditions of discovery into the interior and across the continent of Australia, have excited a deep interest, equally by their important results, and by the loss of the lives of some of the explorers under the most melancholy circumstances. These expeditions, however, constitute but a small link in a long chain of such undertakings, ranging over a period of several hundred years. In fact, it is clear that a southern continent was known to the Romans, and it is difficult to decide how long Australia had been known to the Chinese. But there is evidence that the Portuguese were acquainted with the north-west of Australia before the Dutch, who discovered the north of Australia in 1605. Since then, that is, for 260 years, there has been a succession of voyages of discovery to, and travels of discovery in, Australia. The names of TASMAN, DAMPIER, CAPTAIN COOK, LA PEROUSE, D'ENTRECASTEAUX, FLINDERS, BASS, OXLEY, CUNNINGHAM, CAPTAINS KING, STOKES, FITZROY, &c., GREY, LUSHINGTON, FREDERICK SMITH, THE BROTHERS GREGORY, AUSTIN, ROE, BABBAGE, HACK, WARBURTON, HUME, STURT, STRZELECKI, SIR THOMAS MITCHELL, LEICHHARDT, KENNEDY, EYRE, STUART, BURKE and WILLS, MCKINLAY, HOWITT, LANDSBOROUGH, WALKER, and many others, present to those familiar with their labours and adventures, scenes of danger and of wild romance, of heroic daring and devoted deaths, such as few countries have to show. When we consider that they at the same time constitute

much of the history of the most extraordinary growth and development of nations, and that these nations are of our own race and kindred, bound to us by the closest ties of blood, commerce and common fortunes, it is obvious that a complete chronicle of these remarkable labours and events is not only due to ourselves and the colonies, but must possess a deep and lasting interest for the public.

This is the book which the Author has endeavoured to complete in a full and faithful manner. Having had one son engaged in these researches in Australia, as the successful discoverer of the lost expedition of Burke and Wills, and the recoverer of their remains, and having lost another in assisting to open up the interior of New Zealand, he has entered on the undertaking as a labour of love. His personal knowledge of some of the colonies concerned, and the possession of documents not yet given to the public, have enabled him to treat the subject with the greater accuracy, and have excited him to omit no research or exertion to render it attractive and complete.

The Author's best thanks are due to many friends for particular sources of information opened up to him, in the prosecution of the work, amongst whom he ventures to name the gentlemen of the Committee of Exploration of Victoria: Count Strzelecki; Edward Wilson, Esq., of the Melbourne *Argus*; E. F. Maegeorge, Esq., late of Adelaide; George Augustus Robinson, Esq., late Chief Protector of the Aborigines in Victoria Alexander William Bell, Esq., secretary of the North Australian Company; Frederick Algar, Esq., proprietor of the Australian and New Zealand Gazette, etc.

LONDON MARCH, 15th, 1865.

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THE HISTORY OF DISCOVERY IN AUSTRALIA, TASMANIA AND NEW ZEALAND

CHAPTER I.

PROGRESS OF DISCOVERY TOWARDS AND IN AUSTRALIA.

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Columbus discovered the Bahama Islands and some other parts of the West Indies in 1492. This imme-

diately gave a vigorous impetus to discovery in the West and South, and before Columbus in this third voyage could reach the mainland of America, which he did in 1498, both Americo Vesputio and Sebastian Cabot had reached it before him. Vesputio was sent out by Ferdinand, king of Castile, in 1499. He was by birth a Florentine, as Columbus was a Genoese, thus giving to Italy the two earliest discoverers of the New World. If there be any doubt that Vesputio, or Vespucci, was the first discoverer of the mainland of America, that doubt is in favour of John and Sebastian Cabot, who received a patent from Henry VIII. of England in 1496, and discovered what has been differently stated to be Newfoundland, or a part of the coast of Labrador. This discovery was made prior to 1497, because the discovery is mentioned in an entry in the privy purse of Henry VIII. "to hym that found the new Isle, £10." The settlement of these claims to priority of discovery has occasioned much dispute, into which we need not enter. In any case the discoverer was an Italian, for John Cabot was a Venetian, and his son Sebastian had no other claim to be an Englishman than by being born in Bristol, which his father, as a merchant, frequently visited. Some of the biographers of Vesputio state that his first voyage to America was in 1497, and that the first land seen by him was New Andalusia. But he coasted the *terra firma* to the Gulf of Mexico, and returned to Spain November 15, 1498. But in 1499 he went out with a second fleet, and, keeping his former course, he advanced to the mouth of the river Oronoco, on the coast of Guiana, and returned to Cadiz in 1500. In a third voyage, in 1501, he reached as far south as 52° of latitude, having coasted the South American shore from 5° south latitude, to within 4° of Cape Horn, on the southern extremity of America. A fourth voyage was not so fortunate; the Admiral's vessel was wrecked on an island, supposed to be Ascension, and Vesputio, with two ships, continued the voyage only to the coast of Brazil.

The success of Americo Vespûtio soon sent other adventurers southward. There is an account of a voyage by Paulmier de Gonneville, which claims to have been made in 1503, and to have discovered a part of the Australian coast, sixteen years before the discovery by Magellan of the Straits bearing his name. The evidence of this voyage and discovery rests chiefly on a judicial statement made by Gonneville before the Admiralty in France, July 19, 1505, and inserted in the "Memoires touchant l'Establissement d'une Mission Chretienne dans la Terre Australe," printed at Paris by Cramoisey, 1665, and dedicated to Pope Alexander VII. by an ecclesiastic, originally from the Terra Australis. This priest, who signed himself "Paulmier Prêtre Indien, chanoine de l'Eglise Cathedrale de Lisieux," described himself as the great-grandson of a native Australian, a son of the king of the part of the country touched at, named Arosca. This Australian brought over by Gonneville is styled Essomerie, but christened on the voyage Binot. It is said that one of his grandchildren, J. B. Binot, was President of the Treasury of Provence, and left an only daughter, who was married to the Marquis de la Barbent, May 4, 1725. Two centuries and a half after the event the Count de Maurepas searched the records of the Admiralty in Normandy for the original declaration of Gonneville, but could not find it, but he found a tradition of such a document having been well known amongst the records; and the French writer of this account asserts that he had seen a copy of the Memorial presented to Pope Alexander VII. by the priest Paulmier, with a note by the proprietor of the copy stating that he received it as a gift from Paulmier himself.

The declaration of Paulmier de Gonneville is to the effect, as recorded by the priest Paulmier, that the ship of De Gonneville on its route to the East Indies was driven out of its course by a tempest, and was thrown upon a great southern land. No latitude or longitude is given, and the position assigned to this land by French

geographers near the time unhappily fix it where no land whatever is now known to exist, namely, longitude 20°, latitude 48°, south. Gonneville is made to say that, wanting water, they cast anchor in a river as large as the Orne, near Caen, 'that they remained six months, and were kindly entertained by the inhabitants. Unfortunately again, the description of the country, the people, their habits, costume, and mode of life, by no means accord with those of Australia and its natives. The people are represented as living in houses made of stakes driven into the ground, and the interstices filled up with herbs and leaves, with a hole at the top to let out the smoke. These houses are said to have had doors, formed of sticks neatly tied together, and shut with wooden keepers, like those of the stables in Normandy. The beds made of soft mats or skins, or feathers. Their household utensils made of wood, plastered outside with clay to enable them to bear the fire in cooking. The people are said to wear a kind of apron above the haunches, those of the men reaching to the knee, those of the women to the calf of the leg. The men are represented as not only having bows and arrows, but swords of hard wood, burnt and sharpened at the end. The women as wearing their hair neatly tied in tresses, and adorned with flowers of various colours, and the men as wearing crowns of feathers. That the country abounded with edible herbs, roots, and fruits, etc. It is needless to say no such people have ever been found in any part of Australia, nor has any part of Australia been discovered in which the people led an easy life amid plenty of herbs, roots, and especially native fruits; who lived in houses with neat doors, and were so tasteful in their attire, especially in the dressing of their hair; or who carried sharp swords of hard, burnt wood. The description applies more to the inhabitants of some of the more northern islands of the Indian Ocean.

Gonneville is stated to have fallen into the hands of the English on his homeward voyage, and that his jour-

nals were seized by them, and lost, the account by Paulmier, the priest, being collected from tradition and loose papers of his family, including the judicial declaration of Gonneville already alluded to. The whole, however, may be passed over, for it does not identify itself in any manner with Australia.

If Vesputio's advances southward opened up the way toward Australia greatly, the voyage of Magellan did this infinitely more. Ferdinand Maglianes, commonly called Magellan, was a gentleman of a good family in Portugal, who from his youth had taken great pleasure in maritime affairs, and made himself perfectly familiar with both the theory and practice of navigation. Don Ferdinand was qualified by nature for the arduous office of discovery. He possessed a determined, yet calm, courage, an excellent disposition, and a great power of persuasion. He had served in India under the famous Albuquerque, and thus had acquired habits of command, and thought he merited some attention for his services. But, like Columbus, he was kept in the shade by a lazy and selfish aristocracy, who, without fitness for responsible positions, thought they were the only persons who ought to have them. He, therefore, with the astronomer Ruy Falero, whose talents gave him the title of conjurer, with these hereditary ignoramuses, went to the Spanish court, and represented to Cardinal Ximenes the vast field of discovery opened up by the voyages of Columbus, the Cabots, and Vesputio, and the dominions and commerce to be acquired. The Pope Alexander VI. had very obligingly divided the world into two parts, and granted all undiscovered countries in the East to Portugal, and in the West to Spain. Magellan represented to Ximenes that it was now known that there was a great ocean beyond America, and that there was no doubt but that, besides vast discoveries to be made in that ocean, you might through it reach the Moluccas, and thus, all these discoveries being made from the West, would belong to Spain, whilst, if prosecuted by the Portuguese from the East, they would undoubtedly in right of the papal bull

belong to Portugal. This he was in a condition to prove, as he knew that already, in 1511, Albuquerque had sent out three ships from Malacca, under the command of Antonio de Breu and Francisco Senarro, into those seas, which had followed the east coast of Sumatra to Java, and thence by Madura, Bali, Sumbava, &c., to Papua, or New Guinea, one of the earliest notices that we have of this latter island, close neighbour to Australia. Ximenes listened to these representations, and agreed to allow them five ships with provisions for two years. The Spanish Government gave the adventurers excellent conditions. They were to have the twentieth part of the clear profits, and the government of any islands they might discover, and their heirs for ever, under the title of Adelantados. We know now how soon the Spanish and Portuguese Government cancelled these splendid terms after discovery, but Magellan set sail with his five ships and two hundred and thirty-four men with the most encouraging prospects. His own, or admiral's, ship was the Trindada, and had on board Stephen Gomez, a Portuguese pilot. The Santa Vittoria was commanded by Don Lewis de Mendoza; the St. Antonio by Don Juan de Carthagena; the St. Jago by Don Juan de Serrano, another Portuguese who had sought service in Spain from the same neglect, though he too had served in the East Indies, and in the Moluccas, of which they now were in search. He was an experienced and able man, and proved of the greatest service to the expedition. The last ship, the Conception, was commanded by Don Gaspar de Quixida.

They sailed from Seville on the 10th of August, 1519, and stood out for the Cape de Verd islands. They were detained long by calms about the coast of Guinea, but reached the coast of Brazil in December, and proceeded south, looking for some passage into the ocean now called the Pacific. On the voyage, a mutiny broke out amongst some of the captains of the ships and their men, which Magellan only quelled by hanging Mendoza, the captain of the Santa Vittoria and some of his men, and left Car-

thagena, the captain of the St. Antonio, and some other men amongst the Patagonians. On the 21st of October, he discovered the straits which bear his name. He got safely through, though succeeding navigators found it a most dangerous passage. The Straits proved to be 110 leagues in length, and of various width, in some places not more than half a league across, in others very wide. The land on both sides high and uneven, and the mountains covered with snow. They entered this south-eastern sea on the 28th of November, 1520, and, finding it very calm, styled it the Pacific Ocean. The point of land from which Magellan first caught sight of this sea, he called Cape Desiderato, and he was filled with the greatest joy and confidence of the success of his voyage to the Moluccas. But at this very point fresh discontent shewed itself in his fleet, and one ship stole away, and returned home, calling, it is said, and carrying away with it the mutineers left in Patagonia. At a distance of twenty degrees from the south pole, Pigaffetta, the historian of the voyage, says they saw an island of exceeding height called Cipanque, and at fifteen degrees, another as high, called Sumbdit. What lands these are is unknown. Hence they sailed N.W. passing various groups of islands, amongst the rest the Ladrones, so called by them from the thievish character of the inhabitants. In April, 1521, they reached the Phillippine Islands, where Magellan was treacherously killed at a feast given to him and his officers in the isle of Mathan; and Serrano was detained prisoner, in order to obtain his ransom. The Spaniards, now reduced to only eighty men, and being obliged to destroy one of their ships in order to repair the other two, they were compelled to leave this brave man to the mercy of the savages. Thence they successively reached Borneo, and the Moluccas, entering the harbour of Tiridore on the 6th of November, 1521. At the Moluccas they were compelled to abandon one of their two ships, and proceeded for the Cape of Good Hope with only forty-six Spaniards and thirteen Indians. Passing the Cape, and reaching the Cape de Verds, the Portuguese

had the barbarity, when they applied for provisions, to seize and detain thirteen of them. The solitary ship, however, reached the port of St. Lucar, near Seville, on the 7th of September, 1522. The officer who brought the ship and the remnant of the sailors home, one Sebastian Cano, a native of Guetaria, in Biscay, was handsomely rewarded by the Emperor Charles V. Thus, though at severe cost in human suffering, the world was for the first time circumnavigated.

Magellan lost his life in his great adventure, but not before he had led the way into the Pacific; Serrano also perished, but a great opening was made into new regions, yet the Straits of Magellan were not found to be a very accessible way into the Pacific. Those who immediately followed him failed altogether in the attempt. Two Genoese ships tried the passage in 1526, but did not succeed. Hernan Cortez sent two ships to discover the way to the Moluccas through these Straits in 1528, but without success. Sebastian Cabot and Americo Vesputio both failed in the attempt. Simon Alcasara, a Spaniard, also tried, but his men mutinied, and obliged him to return. All these voyages were made before that of Sir Francis Drake in 1577. Eventually the way round the Horn was discovered to be the easiest and safest, and became the great highway to the Pacific; but the voyage of Magellan had given an impulse to discovery in the Pacific and in the Southern Hemisphere, which never again ceased, and led the way rapidly to the discovery of Australia. We need not advert to the numerous voyages afterwards to the South Seas except in such instances as led to Australian discovery.

Before, however, introducing the recorded voyages of such discovery, it will be as well to notice the anticipations of such records from the most ancient times, and indications of unrecorded voyages which exist. From very remote ages men have spoken of countries lying beyond the regions of any positive knowledge of the ancients, which has come down to us. Such was the Atlantis of Plato, which he described in the Timæus,

as lying in the great western ocean, since on that account named the Atlantic, a vast land, more extensive than Africa and Asia united, and reached by voyaging through the straits of the Pillars of Hercules, into the mighty ocean.

Mr. Major in his introduction to the "Select Letters of Columbus," and to "Early Voyages to Terra Australis," both published by the Hakluyt Society, has adduced other similarly curious assertions of classical authors, which we may regard either as striking prophecies, or as traces of a knowledge amongst the Greeks and Romans, of which we have no more definite evidences. Thus he quotes the following remarkable lines from the *Medea* of Seneca:—

Venient annis
Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Tiphysque novos
Detegat Orbes, nec sit terris
Ultima Thule.

He quotes also a passage from a much older author, the Greek historian, Theopompus, as preserved by Ælian, in which he makes Silenus relate to Midas, king of Phrygia, that besides Europe, Asia, and Africa, there was far beyond them all a continent of vast extent, containing vast and fertile realms, inhabited by "sundrye bigge and mighty beastes," and populous nations. If these curious passages seem to indicate the continent of America, still more remarkable are those which Mr. Major has pointed out in the ancient writers as asserting the existence of an Austral continent. Amongst the very earliest of such passages is one in the Astronomicon of Manilius, who is supposed to have lived in the time of Tiberius or Augustus, but is not mentioned by authors of those periods.

Ex quo colligitur terrarum forma rotunda:
Hanc circum variæ gentis hominum atque ferarum,
Aeriæque colunt volucres. Pars ejus ad arctos
Eminet, Austrinis pars est habitabilis oris,
Sub pedibusque jacet nostris.

Mr. Major then shows that Aristotle, in his "Meteorologica," lib. ii. c. 5, and Aratus, Strabo, and Geminus, all speak of a continent in the southern hemisphere, balancing the land in this. He then shows, from the "Essai sur l'Historie de la Cosmographie et de la Cartographie du Moyen Age," vol. i. p. 229, of the Vicomte de Santarem, how this belief of the ancients in a southern continent influenced the public mind, prior to the discoveries of the Portuguese in the Pacific Ocean. "Certain cartographers," he says "of the middle ages, still continue to represent the *Antictlione* in their maps of the world, in accordance with their belief that, beyond the ocean of Homer, there was an inhabited country, another temperate region, called "the opposite earth," which it was impossible to reach, principally on account of the torrid zone."

The following maps are referred to as demonstrating this fact:—1. The map of the world in a manuscript of Macrobius of the tenth century; 2. The map of the world in a manuscript of the eighth century, in the Turin library; 3. That of Cécco d'Ascoli, of the thirteenth century; 4. The small map of the world in one of the manuscripts of the thirteenth century, of *l'Image du Monde*, by Gautheir de Metz, M.S. No. 7791, Bibliothèque Impériale, Paris; 5. That of an Icelandic manuscript of the thirteenth century, taken from the "Antiquitates Americanæ;" 6. That in a manuscript of Marco Polo, of the fourteenth century (1350), in the Royal Library of Stockholm; 7. That in the reverse of a medal of the fifteenth century, in the cabinet of M. Crignon de Montigny.

Thevenot, in his "Relations des Divers Voyages Curieux," part i. Preface, Paris, 1663, claims for the Chinese the earliest discovery of Australia, on the authority of Marco Polo; but on referring to Marco Polo himself, the illusion is quickly dissipated. What he says is, that, on leaving the island of Java, and steering a course between south and south-west seven hundred miles, you fall in with two islands, a large

one named Sondur, and a less, Kondur, both uninhabited. Fifty miles further in a south-easterly direction, you reach an extensive and rich province, forming part of a mainland, and called Lochac. "Departing from Lochac, and keeping a southerly course, for five hundred miles, you reach an island named Pentam, the coast of which is wild and uncultivated, but the woods abound with sweet-scented trees. Between the province of Lochac and this island of Pentam, the sea, for sixty miles is not more than four fathoms deep, which obliges those who navigate it to lift the rudders of their ships, in order that they may not reach the bottom."

Commenting on these statements, Major says that they do not agree at all with Australia, and that Marsden, in his "judicious notes," has shown that they probably apply to the country of Cambodia, and that Pentam means Bintam, and Malaiur the kingdom of the Malays. It is rather unfortunate for the judiciousness of these notes, that whilst Marco Polo says you must sail south and south-easterly to reach these countries, you must in truth sail exactly in the opposite direction to reach Cambodia and Malay, which lie north and north-west of Java; Malay lying little more than at half the distance named from that island, and Cambodia at about the true distance. In fact Marco Polo's account agrees precisely in position with the west coast of Australia, his Lochac bringing you to De Witt's Land, and his Pentam to Edel's Land, latitude 30° south, and his Malaiur a degree further to Western Australia, a little north of Perth. On the other hand, the description of the countries and their products do not apply in many cases to Australia, whilst they do to Malay, Bintam, and Cambodia. There is shoal enough on the west coast of Australia, there is plenty of "wild and uncultivated coast, and woods abounding with sweet-scented trees;" there is also plenty of gold, but there the likeness ends; there are no elephants; no large cities, nor any trade in spices and drugs. Probably the latitude has been exactly reversed in transcription, and that those more northern

countries are really meant, and this would bring them within the more probable knowledge of the Chinese.

Dismissing the Chinese, we must now see what evidence Mr. Major brings of the acquaintance of the Portuguese prior to the discovery of the north of Australia by the commander of the Dutch yacht, the Duyfhen, or Dove, in 1605, which he deems the earliest discovery of any part of Australia. This evidence is based on seven MS. maps, five of them being in England and two in France. The first of these is a Portuguese copy of a map found by him in the British Museum, as stated in a letter to Sir Henry Ellis, published in 1861. This copy he states to have been purchased by the British Museum in 1848, from the Señor de Michelena y Roxas, the original of which has never been found. Mr. Major supposes this copy to have been made at the beginning of the present, or the close of the last century, and that the original was made about 1620. It must have been made, if such an original exists, at least after 1616, for Endraght's Land, discovered in that year, is included in it. The copy, if copy it be, is written by a very ignorant person, for nearly all the proper names of people and places are given erroneously. Manoel Godinho de Eredia is spelt "Mano el godinho de Evedia;" the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha, "Nico Rey Aives de Saldaha," and Endraght "Enduach."

Now nothing were easier than for a forgery of such a map to have been made by a Portuguese after the discovery of Endraght's Land by the Dutch, and the fact relied upon by Major as proving by coincidence the genuineness of the map, proves to be an error. It says on the map that the voyage was made by command of the Viceroy Saldanha, whereas Mr. Major himself shows that it was by command of Saldanhas's predecessor, the Viceroy Francisco de Gama, whose viceroyalty extended from 1597 to 1600, the asserted discovery being made in 1601. See Major's pamphlet, p. 12. No sound reliance can therefore be placed on this map.

The next map is also in the British Museum. It is

a large chart of the world, on a plane scale, on vellum, 8 feet 2 inches, by 3 feet 10 inches, with the names in French. It is stated to have been probably executed in the time of Francis I. of France, to have formerly belonged to Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford, and to have been purchased by Sir Joseph Banks, and by him presented to the Museum. From the section of it given in lithograph, relating to Australia, it does not appear to have either latitude or longitude marked, but comparing it by a modern map of Australia, it gives an outline of that country from Torres' Straits, on the east, down to about 30° south latitude; Sandy Cape, as it is now called, being run out into a west promontory of many degrees of longitude, and termed C. de Fremoso. On the west side it descends southward, apparently to about the 23d degree of south latitude, or to near De Witts' Land. From these points to the east and west, a naked line runs southward, to indicate that the undiscovered portion of the country still extended in that direction.

In this map Java is curiously represented as a vast country, occupying the real position of Arnhem's Land, and only separated from the Australian continent by a river called Rio Grande, running betwixt the Gulf of Carpentaria and the western coast. On the eastern coast occur the name of Coste des Herbaiges, R. de Beaucoup d' Isles, Bay Perdue, Coste dangereuse, which have been thought curious coincidences with Botany Bay, Bay of Islands, Bay of Inlets, Cape Tribulation, where the Endeavour struck, so much so, as to induce some people to think that Captain Cook had seen this chart, and thus had been led to his discovery of this coast, as there is little doubt that Columbus was to the discovery of America, by hearing in Iceland of the previous discovery of that continent by the Icelanders. Dalrymple, the well-known author of Voyages and Travels, and hydrographer to the Admiralty and East India Company, in his memoirs concerning the Chagos and adjacent islands, laid hold of this fact with great pleasure, for Dalrymple had a spite against Cook because he was preferred to him-

self in the command of the Endeavour, and therefore in the great work of discovery. It is scarcely probable that Cook had ever seen this map, but if he had, he was the first man to lay down this coast with anything like correctness. The whole of this map is a rude and very inaccurate representation of the northern half of Australia, yet there can be little doubt but that it is a real production of some man or men who had been there, but were not very competent to trace the bearings of coasts with anything like truth. At that time of day they had not the means of determining the longitude with any degree of exactness, and we find in all the older navigators the most erroneous calculations regarding it. In this and the other maps in question, the Australian continent is called "Jave la Grande," and in the English one "The Londe of Java."

The third of these maps is included in an atlas consisting of a small folio volume, containing fifteen hydrographical charts on vellum, which formerly belonged to the celebrated Talleyrand, and is now in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillips, of Middle Hill, Worcestershire. This map was drawn or copied by one Nicholas Vallard, of Dieppe, in 1547. It is said to be the most beautifully executed of all these maps, and was fully noticed by M. Barbié du Bocage, in the "Magazin Encyclopédique," douzième année, tom. iv. p. 107.

The fourth and fifth of these maps are found in a volume in the British Museum. This volume was made by Jean Rotz or Roty, in 1542, who dedicated it to Henry VIII. of England. They were brought to public notice long before Major's time; first by Captain Burney in his "History of Discoveries in the South Seas," and again by Captain Flinders in 1814, in his "Voyage to Terra Australis, Introduction, p. 5. These maps are supposed to be the earliest of the kind, and show that Australia was discovered before 1542. In these maps the outline of the country bears a striking resemblance to that already noticed, having the hugely exaggerated promontory on the western coast, and "The Lytil Java,"

only separated from "The Londe of Java" by a river, thus showing that they are all copied from one original, for no two navigators could have laid down the Australian coast so precisely alike, all being alike amazingly incorrect.

The sixth of these maps is given as a fac-simile by M. Jomard in his "Monuments de la Géographie, ou Recueil des Anciennes Cartes," as from an original painted on parchment by order of Henry II. of France. The seventh is a map in a Portulano at the Depôt de la Guerre, Paris, drawn in 1555, by Guillaume le Tester, a pilot of Grasse in Provence, for Admiral Coligny, to whom it was dedicated. André Thevet, cosmographer to Henri II., says he often sailed with Tester, and that he was a famous pilot and remarkable navigator. Mr. Major says that he has seen a tracing of the part of this map, so far as it regards Australia, and that "it agrees with the other maps of the kind in the delineation of the coast of 'la Grande Java.'"

Thus we see that all these maps representing Australia alike, and all erroneously, yet with a certain general resemblance, come undoubtedly from one original. They cannot be the work of different navigators made on the spot, or they would not place the Island of Java immediately adjoining the north of Australia, and only separated by a river; nor continue the great promontory of Fremoso, where it did not exist, at least in the vastly exaggerated dimensions given it in all these maps. They go, indeed, undoubtedly to prove that the Portuguese, between the years 1512 and 1542, made acquaintance with the northern portion of the Australian continent, but still only a loose and inaccurate acquaintance. These maps, obviously copied from one another, indicate that some Portuguese navigator had been in those regions within those dates, and may be considered the earliest discoverer of them, but they as obviously show that beyond this visit the Portuguese nation or government had yet a very slight knowledge of the new South Land. Successive visits must necessarily have modified and cor-

rected the outlines of this first unknown navigator; the coasts could not have remained on seven successive maps precisely the same, and, therefore, precisely as erroneous, one as the other. Whilst these maps demonstrate assuredly that the Portuguese, or that some one vessel of the Portuguese had sighted Australia and traversed with rude observation a great extent of its north-east and north-western coast, they demonstrate with equal certainty that the Portuguese never had prosecuted this knowledge to anything like a tolerable, much less a familiar acquaintance with the Australian shores. Why even this slight knowledge had not been made known by them until it was betrayed by these maps, has been suggested by M. Barbié du Bocage in the paper already alluded to, and published by him in the "Magazin Encyclopédique" in 1807, namely, that in consequence of the division of the globe by Alexander VI. into two parts, in the western half of which the Spaniards might seek new countries and appropriate them, and the Portuguese do the same in the eastern half; the Portuguese prosecuted their discoveries eastward as far as the Moluccas, which they occupied in 1512. For many years the Spaniards and Portuguese were in public controversy regarding the exact limits of their right of discovery and appropriation granted by the pope. All endeavours to determine the dividing line in the Indian seas had failed till in 1529 John of Portugal purchased of Charles V. of Spain the right to the Moluccas for 350,000 golden ducats, but this limited the progress of the Portuguese farther eastward, and as the greater part of Australia lay farther eastward, M. Bocage suggests that the Portuguese when they discovered that continent kept the knowledge of it secret, because they could not claim it, but would open up the value of the discovery to their rivals the Spaniards. Whether this be the true cause of the continuance of their silence, and it is at all events a plausible one, no account of any voyages thither were ever published by the Portuguese, and the proof of their

having been there prior to 1542, the date of the earliest of these maps, rests entirely on these maps.

It is, in fact, stated by Humboldt, in his "Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent," tom. iv., p. 70, upon the authority of the Letters of Angelo Trevigiano, secretary to Domenico Pisani, ambassador from Venice to Spain, that the kings of Portugal forbade, upon pain of death, the exportation of any marine chart which showed the track to Cǫlient. Ramusio confirms this in his "Discorso sopra el libro di Odoardo Barbosa," and in the "Sommario delle Indie Orientale," tom. i., p. 287 b. In the voyage of Jean Parmentier to Sumatra, in 1529, supposed to have been written by his companion the poet, Pierre Crignon, the same charge is made. The Portuguese, he says, "seem to have drunk of the dust of the heart of King Alexander, for they seem to think that God made the sea, and the land only for them, and if they could have locked up the sea from Finisterre to Iceland, they would have done it long since."

Mr. Major, who quotes these authorities against the Portuguese, is at the same time jealous to defend the Dutch against such imputations. He refers, in proof of a contrary spirit, to the publication of the voyages of circumnavigation of Schouten cum Lemaire in 1615-18; and of those of Van Noort, l'Hermite and Spilbergen. But these instances by no means do away with the long asserted and well attested charge of secretiveness on the part of the Dutch in regard to their discoveries in the Southern hemisphere, and of their rude and imperious seizure of all foreign vessels which were found by them in those seas, or which ever came to seek refreshments at their Eastern settlements on voyages of discovery. It was when the Dutch began to see the extent and importance of what they called New Holland, that they began carefully to suppress all the voyages of discovery to it. Mr. Major is compelled to admit this as regarded the important voyages of Tasman, De Nuyts, Vlaming, De Vries, and others. He endeavours to shake Sir William Temple's assertion of this charge of illiberality and con-

cealment against the Dutch; but the quotation made, shows the charge to be built on grounds that cannot be touched. These are Sir William's derivation of them from the Dutch themselves: — "*I have heard it said amongst the Dutch*, that their East India Company have long since forbidden, and under the greatest penalties, any further attempts of discovering that continent, having already more trade in those parts than they can turn to account, and fearing some more populous nation of Europe might make great establishments of trade in some of those unknown regions, which might ruin or impair what they have already in the Indies."

Mr. Major says, this applies not to the Dutch nation at large, but only to the Dutch East India Company. That the Dutch East India Company were the party immediately concerned, and the direct agents of this exclusiveness, is true, but unfortunately for the case as it affects the nation, it will be found, that in almost every case in which appeals were made against the Company for the seizure of discovery ships, the Company was supported by the home government. This was the case even with the Dutch navigators Schouten and Le Maire; Le Maire dying of chagrin from his treatment by his countrymen at Batavia; and Schouten in vain seeking redress at home. The conduct of the Dutch East India Company was the same to their countryman Roggewein, but in this instance their arbitrary conduct was overruled at home, by the influence of the Dutch West India Company, which had sent Roggewein out. This, however, did not prevent the Dutch in the East pursuing the same barbarous conduct toward discoverers of other nations, as will be seen in the case of Dampier, Funnel, and other Englishmen, with the returning ships of D'Entrecasteaux, and other foreigners. But to return to the course of discovery.

In 1526, the Portuguese Commander Don Jorge de Meneses touched at New Guinea, being driven there by currents on a voyage from Malacca to the Moluccas, without knowing the country he had reached.

The next navigator who professed to have reached

Australia after De Gonneville, was Alvar de Saavedra. Cortez being now established in Mexico, sent out some ships for the discovery of the Spice Islands across the great South Sea. Accordingly in 1528, he despatched Saavedra, who was his relation, in three ships from the port of Fevantlancio. He was soon parted by a storm from the other two vessels, but reached the Moluccas. Leaving Tidore to return to Mexico, after a course of 250 leagues, he came to a land which he called Golden Island, but without giving any description of it. Herrera, in his description of India, c. xxvii., says, it was New Guinea. In all these early accounts, the want of an accurate laying down of the latitude and longitude throws uncertainty over the identity of the lands mentioned. It can only be said that the account of the inhabitants agrees with that of the natives of New Guinea. They were of a negro race, warlike as were those of the neighbouring islands. They had cocoa-nuts, huts covered with palm leaves, and canoes with sails like mats made of palm leaves. The people were called Papous. Saavedra sailed again from Tidore in the following year, and paid this country a second visit. On their return, Saavedra died, and the command fell to Fernando de Torre, who brought the ship back to Mexico.

A more definite account is that of the discovery of Bernard della Torre, in 1542. This officer went out with the Spanish admiral Juan Gaetan, from Mexico, on a voyage of discovery in the Pacific. They directed their course towards the equator, and reached an island called Arcifa, near the line. They then made for the Philippines, and thence Gaetan sent back Della Torre to Mexico, to inform the Viceroy of their safe voyage; Della Torre, directed his course still nearer to the equator than they had done in coming out, and discovered on his right hand in 30° south latitude a great continent, along which he run for 650 leagues, and having landed on it in 6° south latitude, he found it inhabited by negroes, with short crisp hair. They were vastly agile, and armed with wooden lances and arrows, not poison-

ous. This was undoubtedly the Australian continent. The natives would appear to him very like negroes, their hair being short and bushy, though not woolly.

Though from all that appears, the Portuguese discovered Australia between 1511 and 1529, yet the Spaniards had clearly their share in continuing these discoveries. After Saavedra, we have thus Bernard della Torre, in the service of Spain in 1542, stimulating that spirit of discovery by fresh news of the great Southern Land; and he was soon followed by Mendana and Quiros, as we shall see. But at this point we may notice that so much of Australia was now known, that it is laid down in different maps, dating from this epoch to near the end of the century, with more or less distinctness. In 1575, in Thevet's *Cosmographie Universelle,* there is a map giving the Great and Little Java, as part of Australia, and in the work itself, tom. i. liv. 12, Australia is expressly mentioned as a country yet but very imperfectly discovered, yet in the opinion of the author, of as great an extent as Asia or Africa. In 1587, a map, entitled, "Typus Orbis Terrarum," occurs in Ortelius, in which New Guinea is already laid down as an island, though words are added, stating that whether it were an island, or part of the Australian continent was not quite certain. It is clear, however, that sufficient was already known to infer that it was an island. In different editions of Mercator of the same date, the same indications are made. These again occur in the map of Peter Planchius in the voyages of Linschoten in 1598. In the Speculum Orbis of Judæis, Antwerp, 1592, New Guinea is also laid down in a map in like manner; and in the map illustrating the voyages of Drake and Cavendish, by Jodocus Hondius, New Guinea is laid down decidedly as an island, and that separated from Australia only by a strait, which has a gulf like the Gulf of Carpentaria. It is curious, that this must have been prior to the discovery of Torres of that strait, in 1606; by the map bearing the arms of Queen Elizabeth, before the unicorn of Scotland had

displaced the dragon of England. What is still more remarkable, is that in Cornelius Wytfliet's "Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ Augmentum," Louvain 1598, occurs the following passage:—

"The Terra Australis is the most southern of all lands, and is separated from New Guinea by a narrow strait. Its shores are hitherto but little known, since after one voyage and another that route has been deserted; and seldom is the country visited, unless when sailors are driven there by storms. The Terra Australis begins at two or three degrees from the equator, and is maintained by some to be of so great an extent, that if it were thoroughly explored, it would be regarded as a fifth part of the world."

It must be considered as a very remarkable circumstance, that this statement was made eight years before Luis Vaez de Torres discovered the passage between New Guinea and Australia, which now bears his name; seven years before the voyage itself was undertaken by De Quiros and Torres. Who was the first discoverer of this strait? Probably more than one navigator had made the passage, though we have now no record of the fact, which, however, according to the maps, and the mention in different works of New Guinea being an island, to which we have alluded, seems to have been tolerably well known. The name of Torres was itself attached to this strait by a mere accident. His account of the passage was lying in manuscript in the archives at Manilla, when the British took possession of that city in 1762, and being there discovered by Dalrymple, he named De Torres as the discoverer of the strait, and thenceforward that became its appellation for ever.

Probably both Portuguese and Spaniards, about the middle, or towards the latter end of the 16th century, made voyages in this direction, of which we have no account, because they wished none to be given. In a pamphlet published by Mr. Major, in 1861, he brings forward a section of a rude mappemonde, which he had discovered in the British Museum, on which the north-

west of Australia is stated by some Portuguese to have been discovered in 1601, by Manoel Godinho de Eredia, by command of the Viceroy, Ayres de Saldanha: and this, he thinks, settles the question of the priority of Portuguese over Dutch discovery of this continent. This was not at all necessary, for he had already amply proved this, both by maps and other statements, as will have been seen, and that at a much earlier period. However, in 1567, Alvaro de Mendana was sent from Callao, by the Spanish government there, on a voyage of discovery, in which he discovered the Solomon and other islands. In 1595, he made a second voyage, in order to establish a colony in the Solomon Islands; he endeavoured to do this on Santa Cruz, but unsuccessfully, and died there. His approach to Australia led to its being soon visited by others of his countrymen.

In December, 1605, Fernand de Quiros, who had already made the voyage of the South Sea with Mendana in 1595, was sent out to Peru by Philip III. of Spain, with orders that the Viceroy, the Count de Monterey, should equip two well-armed vessels and a corvette, for the further endeavour to found the colony in the Solomon Islands, in which attempt Mendana had failed. This expedition sailed from Callao on the 21st of December, 1605. With him went, as the commander of the second ship, the Almirante Luis Vaez de Torres, destined to give his name to the strait dividing New Guinea from Australia. Quiros himself is stated, by Nicholas Antonio, the author of the "Bibliotheca Hispana," to be a Portuguese by birth, though in the service of the King of Spain. They shaped their course from New Guinea, and discovered several islands, amongst them those of St. Bernard. Holding on in the same course, they struck land, which they supposed to be the north-east coast of Australia. If we are to be guided, however, by the latitude and longitude given by them, they were far out eastward beyond the Feejee Islands. Their stated place was lat. 15° 40′ S.; old longitude, 187°. But navigators, as I have observed, were then

very inaccurate in determining longitude. The country which they had really made is now well known to have been the New Hebrides, which yet retains the name they gave the chief island, Espirito Santo. The three vessels anchored in a bay on the north-east of the island, which they named San Felipe and Santiago, and which yet retains the name of St. Philip in our maps.

Suddenly at midnight, on the 11th of June, 1606, Quiros quitted his anchorage, and sailed away without notice or reason stated. But as he supposed that he had discovered the great Tierra Austral, as is stated in his memoirs, there can be little doubt that his purpose was to make a quick return to Mexico, to claim the honour of the discovery, and to solicit the authority to settle a colony upon it. This is apparent enough from his subsequent proceedings. He reached Mexico in October, 1606, nine months after his departure from Callao. He there addressed a memoir to Philip III., announcing his discovery, and soliciting a commission to plant this great Austral land. In this first memorial, followed by several others, Quiros described the country and the natives in terms that by no means apply to the real Australia. He says, "he found them living in huts thatched with straw, and having abundance of fowls, hogs, large herds of cattle, singing birds of all kinds, bees, partridges, parrots, abundance of various fruits and nuts, all produced spontaneously; potatoes, ignames, papas, plantains, oranges, limes, almonds, obos, and many other fruits previously unknown to him, but most delicious. There were muscade nuts, ebony," &c. He asserts that the country was as large as Europe and Asia Minor; that it swarmed with incredible numbers of inhabitants, some of whom were black, some white, and others like mulattoes. Some of them, he said, had light yellow hair. They had, according to his account, pitchers and vessels of earth, were acquainted with wearing apparel; that they worked in marble, had flutes, drums, and wooden spoons; set apart certain places for oratorios, for burial-grounds, and for places of prayer. Their gardens he described as artificially separated into

beds, bordered and paled. Mother of pearl, and the shells which contain pearl, they have," he said, "in much use and estimation, of which they make wedges, razors, saws, culters, and such like instruments: they do also make thereof pearls and great beads to wear about their necks. Their bread is usually made of three kinds of roots, which grow there in great abundance. They have sugar-canes, large in size, and in great plenty. They have knowledge of our ordinary apples; they have four kinds of almonds, and palm-trees in abundance, from the juice of which they make wine, whey, vinegar, and honey, the kernels of which are very sweet. They have cocoas, of the rinds of which they do make bottles, and cables and cordage for ships; and the leaves of palm-trees for sails of small bulk and burden. They make mats of the palm leaves for hangings to their houses. Amongst their herbage and garden fruits, we have seen melons, pears, great and small, and sundry sorts of pot-herbs; and they have also beans. For flesh they are stored with a great number of hogs, which are as tame as ours: they have hares, capons, partridges, ducks, turtles, pigeons, stock-doves, and goats, as one of my captains did see. The Indians themselves have given us notice of cows and oxen." Quiros then enumerates a great variety of fish in the plenteous land of Australia, and adds: "A man may easily collect plentiful, and different varieties of all things that may yield great and singular delights. There is stuff for marchpanes, and sweet confections of all sorts, without borrowing any spice for the composition of them elsewhere. And for my mates, the mariners, besides all this, there will be no want of gammons, sausages, and other salt meats which hogs do yield. The haven called Vera Cruz will contain a thousand ships. The riches which I and another captain have seen, are silver, pearls, and gold, which are the three most precious darlings, that lie and are cherished in the bosom of nature. We have also seen much nutmeg, mace, ginger, and pepper. There is notice of cinnamon; and it is likely cloves may be found in those

parts, since so many other spices and aromatic drugs do prosper there. There are likewise materials for all sorts of silk; we have seen annise seed, and excellent good ebony. In a wood near the port, at the dawning of the day, you shall hear a sweet and various harmony of a thousand birds of all sorts, among which we could distinguish the notes of nightingales, blackbirds, quails, goldfinches, swallows almost without number, parroquitos, and one parrot we marked there. I do assure your Majesty, that you may give command to build a goodly and great city in this port and bay, which are fifteen degrees forty minutes of southern latitude, and those who shall inhabit it shall have plenty of riches and other conveniences which they can desire. Time will show and discover all these commodities."

In all this there is no doubt that Quiros, who was importuning the Spanish Government to send him out to found a colony in Australia, and govern it, scrambled together the produce of all the various countries in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. He invested Australia with people, fruits and animals, for which subsequent discoverers looked in vain. The idea of a swarming population, some of it white, some black, some with bright yellow hair, and all with houses, domestic manufactures, cattle, sheep, where sheep were never known till nearly two centuries afterwards, hogs, potatoes, apples; where there was no barren or sandy ground, no thorny trees, no marshes, nor fens, no serpents, nor worms "that do hurt and consume our grain, and work so much displeasure in our houses," no flies, caterpillars, or gnats—that was a wonderful Australia to those who came to know it really. All these fine things applied to the New Hebrides, notwithstanding the fertility, and the rich fruits, and animals of these islands, present an ample addition of romance in Quiros's account. His paradisaical picture, however, did not answer his purpose. He failed in moving the Spanish monarch, and died in disappointment at Panama in 1614. In fact, Spain was no longer in a condition to prosecute such distant enterprises. Her

bigotry and cruelties had forced the Netherlands into rebellion, and raised an enemy, through this cause, in Holland, who exerted every energy to supplant her in trade, and in Eastern commerce and empire. This, with many other causes of decline in Spain, seemed to close with this voyage of Quiros and Torres, the course of Spanish enterprise in the direction of India and Australia.

Torres, thus suddenly and mysteriously deserted at Espirito Santo, proceeded with discovery. He ascertained that this was not the great Austral Land, but only an island, and he then sailed westward, and in the month of August, 1606, he made land in 11½° south latitude, which he imagined to be the south-east point of New Guinea, but which, if his latitude was correct, must have been one of the most southerly isles of the Louissade Archipelago. Driven to the leeward of this island, he continued along its south coast, and thus was borne directly into the mouth of the strait now named after him. In the memorial addressed to Philip III. of Spain by Don Juan Luis Arias, to induce him to explore and christianize Australia, given at p. 1 of Major's "Early Voyages," occurs this passage:—"From thence, he (Torres) sailed westwards, having constantly on the right hand the coast of another very great land, which he continued coasting, according to his own reckoning, more than 600 leagues, having it still on the right hand. In this course may be supposed to be comprehended New Guadalcanal and New Guinea," &c. Thence he sailed to Buchan and Ternate, and so to Manilla.

His own account is:—"We went along 300 leagues of coast, and diminished the latitude 2½°, which brought us into 9°. From hence we fell in with a bank of from three to nine fathoms, which extends along the coast above 180 leagues. We went over it, along the coast to 7½° south latitude, and the end of it is in 5°. We could not go further on for the many shoals and great currents, so we were obliged to sail south-west in that depth to 11° south latitude. There is all over it an archipelago

of islands without number, by which we passed; and at the end of the eleventh degree the bank became shorter. Here were very large islands, and there appeared more to the southward. They were inhabited by black people, very corpulent and naked. Their arms were lances, arrows, and clubs of stone, ill-fashioned. We could not get any of their arms. We caught in all this land twenty persons of different nations, that with them we might be able to give a better account to your Majesty. They give much notice of other people, although as yet they do not make themselves well understood. We were upon this bank two months, at the end of which time we found ourselves in twenty-five fathoms, and 5° south latitude, and ten leagues from the coast, and having gone 480 leagues here, the coast goes to the north-east. I did not reach it, for the bank became very shallow; so we stood to the north."

From the want of longitude here we are left in some uncertainty as to his true position, but when he was in 11° south latitude, he would appear to be in the narrow portion of the straits opposite Cape York, and when he reached 5° south latitude, he must have been quite out of the strait, and have ascended considerably to the north on the western coast of New Guinea, and betwixt it and the island of Ceram.

From this date the Spanish period of Australian discovery ceases, and that of Dutch enterprise in that direction commences.

CHAPTER II.

DISCOVERIES OF THE DUTCH.

Dutch geographers, Ortelius, Mercator, Planchius, De Bry, Hulsius, Cluverius.—Linschoten's Voyages, 1618.—Establishment of the Dutch East India Company.—Their settlements of Batavia, Bantam, Amboyna, Banda, &c.—The yacht Duyfhen sent out by the Company reached the west coast of Australia in 1606.—It reached Cape Keer Weer or Turn-again.—Voyage of Spilbergen from Amsterdam in 1614 to the Pacific.—Ideas of Isaac Le Maire on a great southern continent.—The voyage of Schouten and James Le Maire in 1615.—Plague of flies in the Pacific.—Touch at New Guinea.—Their ships seized at Batavia by the Dutch East India Company.—Le Maire died of a broken heart at the Mauritius.—Voyage of Edel.—Successive voyages from 1616 to 1622.—Amongst these the voyage of Dirck Hartog in the Endracht as far as Shark's Bay.—His arrival there recorded on a tin plate left in Hartog's Island.—This plate found there in 1697 by Vlaming, and by Hamelin in 1801.—Supposed voyage to Arnhem's Land by one Zeachen.—In 1618 the ship Mauritius discovers Willem's River.—In 1619 Edel discovers Edel's Land.—Navigators unknown in 1622 discover Leeuwin's Land, Cape Leeuwin, and Houtman's Abrolhos.—Du Quesne's exploration of King George's Land in 1687.—Voyage of Carstaens in 1623 to New Guinea.—Massacre of himself and eight men.—The vessels Pera and Arnhem discover Arnhem's Land.—The south coast of Australia discovered in 1627 by the ship Gulde Zeepard, and again in 1628 by the ship Vianen, and called Nuyt's Land.—The Vianen discovers De Witt's Land.—Voyage of Governor Carpenter's fleet, and return with gold.—Shipwreck of the Batavia in the Abrolhos.—Captain Pelsart's adventurers.—Gerard Pool murdered in New Guinea in 1636.—Pietersen's voyage down the west coast of Australia.—Abel Tasman's voyages in 1642 and 1643, on the coasts of New Holland.—Struck the south-western corner of Van Diemen's Land first.—Anchored in Frederick Henry Bay and Storm Bay.—His description of Van Diemen's Land.—Sailed towards Australia, but missed it, and reached New Zealand, which he named Staaten Land.—Attacked by the natives, and three men killed.—Called the place Murderer's Bay.—Followed the north-west coast to Point Maria Van Diemen.—Discovered the island of the Three Kings.—Sailed north by the islands of Horne and Cacaos; discovered the island of Pylstaart, and several of the Friendly Islands.—Then west to the Fejee Islands, by New Britain and New Guinea to Batavia.—Supposed second voyage of Tasman to the north-west coast of Australia and Torres' Straits.—Cunio's instructions to Tasman.—Speculations as to the true discoverer of the Gulf of Carpentaria.—Mr. Major's ideas on this head.—Thevenot's statements.—Supposed voyages of Governors Carpenter and Van Diemen.—Idea of Dr. Lang as to the discovery of Carpentaria.—Causes inducing the Dutch to suppress all knowledge of New Holland.—Wreck of the Vergulde Draeck on the coast of Western Australia.—Fate of the crew.—Vlaming's visit to this coast.—Successive wrecks on the Abrolhos.—Explorations of the coast of north-west Australia by the ships Vossenback, Wager, and Nova Hollandia, to North Van Diemen's Land and Cambridge Gulf.—Their misfortunes.—Attempt of Commodore Roggewein to reach Australia, 1721.—Discovery of the Bowman Islands.—Seizure of Roggewein's ships at Batavia.

THE spirit raised by the revolution in the Netherlands, and by the interdict of any trade with Spain issued by

the Spaniards, impelled the Dutch to prosecute commerce and discovery in the East, and thence southwards. All that related to the geography and hydrography of those regions was studied with the utmost diligence, and a race of men arose who became masters in geographic science; Ortelius, Mercator, Planchius, De Bry, Hulsius, Cluverius, and others. Amongst these, none contributed more than Planchius, who opened in Amsterdam a nautical and geographical school to teach pre-eminently all that related to the Spanish possessions in South America and the Indian Ocean. But there was another man, Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, who still more opened the eyes, and stimulated the avidity of his country towards Eastern enterprise. He had lived fourteen years in the Portuguese settlements in the East, and had collected immense information regarding that interesting region, which was communicated to his countrymen by the publication of his "Voyages," in 1618. The result was that the Dutch in 1602 established their East India Company, and soon traded to Batavia, Bantam, Amboyna, Banda, and other places.

From the instructions to Abel Janez Tasman, signed by Governor-General Antonio Van Diemen, for his second voyage in 1644, which instructions came into the hands of Sir Joseph Banks, and were published by Alexander Dalrymple in his collection respecting Papua, we learn, as well as from Purchas, vol. i. p. 385, that this company sent out a yacht, called the Duyfhen, or Dove, on the 18th of November, 1605, from Bantam, to explore the islands and coasts of New Guinea. The Duyfhen sailed along what the captain thought was the western shore of New Guinea, as far as $13\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ of south latitude. It will be seen by reference to a map of Australia that while the captain of the Duyfhen supposed himself on the coast of New Guinea, he was making the first authenticated discovery of the western coast of Australia itself. They found the land still extending to the southwards, but want of provisions, and the murder of some of the crew by the "wild, cruel, black savages,"

compelled them to turn back, and they named the point of their turning homewards, Cape Keer Weer, or "Turn-again." The whole of that coast is described in the account of the voyage as desert, and much of it very barren. This important voyage was by the order of the President, John Williamson Verschoor, and the discovery of the western coast of Australia is supposed to have been made in March, 1606, the Duyfhen reaching Banda in the beginning of June of that year.

In 1614 an expedition was fitted out by Dutch merchants at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, regardless of the charter of the Dutch East India Company, under the command of George Spilberg, or Spilbergen, with six ships, to endeavour to find a way to the East Indies through the Straits of Magellan, and the Pacific. Spilberg sailed from the Texas on the 8th of August of that year, passed the Straits in April and May, and reached the Manillas on the 9th of February, 1616, and Jaccatra, now Batavia, on the 7th of September. Spilberg returned to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope.

He was followed in his route by another expedition, fitted out in defiance of the Dutch East Indian Company, which, in a spirit of grasping monopoly, obtained by their charter a power of stopping any vessels of their own nation, not belonging to their company, visiting the East either by the Cape of Good Hope, or westward by the Straits of Magellan, or Cape Horn. This expedition was furnished by William Cornelison Schouten, and his mercantile friends, who were indignant at the selfishness of the East Indian Company, and by Isaac Le Maire and his friends. This Isaac Le Maire, who was a merchant, was a man of great sagacity, and looked far beyond the mere benefit of tradings to the islands and coasts of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Probably before Quiros had been sent out by the Spaniards, Le Maire, pondering on the disposition of land and water in the other parts of the globe, imagined that there could not be a fourth part water in the southern hemisphere.

In respect to the Straits of Magellan, he saw that they lay in the tenth climate, whereas a great part of Europe, Asia, and Africa, lay as far as the twenty-fourth; from whence he concluded there must be a continent, to the south of those straits, which stretched itself into a warmer latitude, and made a very considerable part of the world. He conjectured also, that if there were such a continent, the greater part of it must lie between the twentieth and thirty-sixth degrees of latitude, and must therefore be an extremely desirable country, as it would answer to Barbary, Syria, Persia, and the best part of the Indies in the northern hemisphere. These ideas he had communicated to Schouten, and had thus rendered him anxious to embark in this enterprise of discovery. They and the merchants who joined them in the speculation, united under the name of the South Company, and in the spring of 1615 sent out two vessels, the Unity of 360 tons, of which William Cornelison Schouten was captain, and James Le Maire, the son of Isaac Le Maire, the projector, was supercargo; and the Horn, of 110 tons, commanded by John Cornelison Schouten, and Aris Clawsen as supercargo. They were well armed as well as provisioned, and left the Texel on the 14th of June. William Schouten landed at Dover, and engaged an English gunner, in passing, and being soon after driven into Plymouth by stress of weather, he there engaged an English carpenter—the English gunners and carpenters then enjoying a great reputation. On reaching the coast of South America, they discovered the Straits in January, 1616, still known by the name of the Straits of Le Maire. In striking across the Pacific westward, between the tenth and twentieth degrees south latitude, they necessarily discovered Dog Island, Waterland, and an island which they named Fly Island, from the infinite number of those creatures. The description of this plague resembles what I supposed only Australian travellers had seen. Landing to find water, they were quickly covered with the flies, and when they returned they carried many millions with them into

their ships. They were a sort of black flies, of which there were such prodigious swarms, that they came on board covered with them from head to foot; their hands and faces so beset, that there was no seeing what complexion they were of. Their clothes were entirely hidden by the multitudes of those animals crawling upon them, so that they composed themselves another sort of apparel. Besides, their very boats and oars were all over in the same dress as themselves; so that when they came back, the plague of flies began to rage in the ship, and every man was busy to defend his face and eyes as well as he could. It was the best part of the day's work to be flapping the flies away, and it was hard for a man to open his mouth, either to speak or to eat, without taking in a mouthful of these vermin at the same time. This dreadful persecution lasted for about three or four days, in which time the flaps did such execution, that their suffering was pretty well at an end, and few of the flies left alive to torment them." Those who have never set foot in Australia, must look on this account as greatly exaggerated, but I have seen this fly pest exactly as here described.

They next fell in with Traitor's Island, and then bearing north, with Horn Island, and on the 1st of July, 1616, anchored off the south-east point of New Guinea. They seem to have sailed along the whole of the northern coast of New Guinea, to the island of Gilolo. They describe the natives of New Guinea, like all other voyagers, as extremely warlike and hostile to Europeans. They were armed with clubs, wooden swords, and slings, and daringly attacked the ships, and were only dispersed by firing cannon, and knocking their boats to pieces. They were very much of the negro stamp, with frizzly black hair, which many covered with chalk, as our gentlemen used to cover theirs with powder. Their boats had sails, and they seemed to have plenty of hogs and cocoa nuts, bananas, dried fish, tobacco, and dried fruit, like prunes. They had houses built of poles, and covered with palm-leaves, and these houses stood raised

from the ground eight or nine feet, on stakes. Altogether they appeared a much superior race to the Australian natives, and had Spanish jars and China ware amongst them, showing that they were visited by traders in communication with the merchants of Europe and India. Some parts of the land they describe as very high and mountainous, and others as low and fertile. They speak of many islands surrounding their course, on one of which was a volcano.

On arriving at Batavia, with only two of their ships, having been obliged to burn one and sell the others, these ships and all their property were seized by the Governor of the Dutch East India Company, on the plea that they had broken the company's charter by coming into those seas. It was in vain that they represented that they had not come by either of the forbidden routes, but by a new one discovered by themselves. The Governor told them they might seek redress at home, and sent them there by two of the Company's ships. James le Maire died at the Mauritius from chagrin at his treatment. Shouten reached Amsterdam, but it does not appear whether he obtained satisfaction for the confiscation of his ship and cargo.

From this time the Dutch, who had a fine opportunity of prosecuting voyages of discovery in Australia from their settlements in the Indian Ocean, made successive attempts of the kind, though with their usual close policy, they kept them and their discoveries as secret as possible. Though they forbade the publication of the various voyages to prevent other nations becoming acquainted with this new region, they yet laid a chart of Australia down on the pavement of the Stadthouse at Amsterdam, that this knowledge might be familiar to their own merchants and statesmen.

The Dutch "Book of Despatches" states that the next voyage of discovery was undertaken in a yacht by order of the Fiscal Edel, but with better success, and that nothing certain is known of it because the journals and remarks were lost. It adds that in the years 1616,

1618, 1619 and 1622, the west coast of the great unknown south land was explored by successive vessels, amongst which was the Endracht or Concord, commanded by Captain Dirck Hartog. These successive ships explored the coast from 35° to 22° south latitude. Hartog was there in 1616, and discovered Hartog's Roads, at the entrance of the sound, afterwards called by Dampier Shark's Bay, in 25°. This was afterwards proved by Wilhem van Vlaming, Captain of the Gulvink, in 1697, finding on Dirck Hartog's Island, at the entrance of Shark's Bay, a tin plate bearing an inscription in Dutch, of which this is a translation:—"On the 25th October, 1616, arrived here the ship Endracht, of Amsterdam; the first merchant, Gilles Mibais van Luyck: Captain Dirck Hartog, of Amsterdam: the 27th of ditto, set sail for Bantam; under merchant, Jan Stoyn; upper steersman, Pieter Dockes, from Bil. A°. 1616.

When Vlaming found this inscription in 1697 he copied it upon a new plate, adding an additional one, recording his arrival there on the 4th of February of that year, the names of the officers of the Gulvinck, and its departure thence on the 12th of the same month further to explore the south land. This plate was again found by Captain Hamelin of the Naturaliste, on the voyage of discovery made by the corvettes Geographe and Naturaliste, in the years 1800 to 1804, published by Peron. Intending to sail into Shark's Bay in July, 1801, Captain Hamelin first sent three men to Dirck Hartog's Island, for the purpose of signaling the Geographe in case it should come in sight of the entrance of the bay. On the island, nearly buried in sand, and lying near a post, to which they supposed it to have been nailed, the boatswain found Vlaming's inscription and tin plate, about six inches in diameter. From this circumstance they named the north point of the island, where the plate was found, the Cape of the Inscription. Captain Hamelin, having copied the inscription, sent the plate back to the spot where it had remained for nearly

two centuries, and had it nailed to a new post. On the north-east part of the island he also placed another plate, recording the name of this corvette, and the date of its arrival there. In Peron's translation of Dirck Hartog's inscription some strange blunders are made—Bantam is converted into Bantum, the second merchant; Jan Stoyn, second merchant, into Janstins, first pilot, and Picter Dockes into Peter Ecoores.

The Abbé Provost in his *Historie des Voyages*, tom. ii. p. 201, and the President De Brosses in his *Historie des Navigations aux Terres Australis*, tom. i. p. 432, state that one Zeachen, a native of Arnheim, discovered the land called Arnheim's Land and Van Diemen's Land, on the north coast of Western Australia, in about the latitude 14°, in 1618, and that he named the country after Arnheim, his native place, and the coast of it after Antony Van Diemen, the Governor of Batavia, the same after whom Tasman named the island of Van Diemen, now called Tasmania, more properly after himself. Major Lunn, copying Flinders, thinks that is a mistake on the part of these writers, which has been literally copied by Callander in his "Collection of Voyages of Discovery," that Zeachen, or Zeacham, is not at all a Dutch name, means Zeehaen—See-hen, the name of a vessel—that it was probably the Zeehaen, one of Tasman's vessels, and that this is rendered more probable because Van Diemen was not Governor of Batavia till 1636, while this voyage is said to have taken place in 1618. That there is a mistake somewhere is plain, Zechaen, wanting only a single letter, c changing with e, to be Zeehaen. But might not an Arnheim have been commander of a Zechaen in 1618? This still would not account for the name of Van Diemen's Land at that date. The truth will probably be found in Arnheim's Land being called from the ship Arnhem, or Arnheim, which explored this coast in 1623, as we shall soon see. Van Diemen's name must have been added later to the coast. Yet it could not be the work of

Tasman in his second voyage in 1644, for it was there already, as we shall have occasion to observe.

In 1618 the commander of the ship Mauritius, whose name, like so many of the Dutch discoverers, remains unknown, made discoveries on the western coast of Australia, particularly of Willem's River. In the following year, 1619, John Edels coasted the western shore of this continent, and left his name on that part of it immediately south of Endracht's Land. Thevenot's chart, published in 1663, makes Edels Land extend from 29° northward to 26½°, where Endracht's Land commences; but Van Keulin's chart, published near the close of the century, makes it extend to 38° 20′. Thevenot's boundaries are the more probable, as Keulin's would encroach on Leeuwin's Land, as both of them do on Vlaming's Land.

In the year 1622 some other navigators, whose names are also unknown, discovered what is now called Western Australia, and called it the Land of Leeuwen, or Land of the Lion, not because they imagined that they saw any lions there, but from the name of the ship in which they sailed. The extreme southern point they named Cape Leeuwin. The great reef called Houtman's Abrolhos, from a Portuguese word meaning "keep your eyes open," was also discovered at this period on this coast. The name was given in honour of the Dutch navigator, Frederick Houtman, though whether he was ever on this coast is not known. The part of the coast bordering on King George's Sound was further explored by Du Quesne in 1687, and by Vlaming, or Flamming, or Dinning, as it appears in the old maps in 1697. To him we shall anon refer.

Some expeditions were dispatched by the Dutch East India Company for the further exploration of Australia, but failing from various causes, in the year 1623 the Governor-General, Jan Pietersz Coen, sent out in January the yachts Pera and Arnhem. They sailed from Amboyna under the command of Jan Carstens, with orders to make a nearer acquaintance with the

country and people of New Guinea. This cost the life of Carstens and eight of his crew, who were murdered by the natives of New Guinea. The vessels, however, continued their course till they had discovered the "great islands, Arnhem and the Spult," in which latter a river Spult or Spuilt is often mentioned. The Arnhem then returned to Amboyna, having conferred its name on the country there; but the yacht Pera, continuing the voyage, sailed along the western Australian coast as far as Cape Keer-Weer, and thence farther south as far as 17° south latitude, to Staten River, where the land continued to run westward. The Pera thence returned to Amboyna. The Arnhem's Land thus discovered and named lies between the Gulfs of Carpentaria and Cambridge. Its northern boundary is the Arafura Sea, its eastern the Gulf of Carpentaria. In the Gulf of Van Diemen lie the considerable islands of Melville and Bathurst. Van Diemen's Land bounds it to the south-west.

The Dutch "Book of Despatches" drawn up for the information of Tasman preparatory to his second voyage in 1644, says:—"In this discovery were found everywhere shallow water and barren coast: islands altogether thinly peopled by divers cruel, poor, and brutal natives, of very little use to the Company. The journal of this voyage is not now to be found, but the discovered countries may be seen in the maps which are made of them."

The "Book of Despatches" continues—"Through the little success of this third voyage, but mostly because no ships could be spared, the discovery was again omitted until 1636; but in the interim, in the year 1627, the south coast of the great south land was accidentally discovered by the ship the Gulde Zeepard, outward bound from Fatherland, for the space of 1000 English miles; and again accidentally in the year following, 1628, on the north side, in the latitude of 21° south, by the ship Vianen, homeward bound from India, when they coasted about 200 English miles without gaining any particular knowledge of this great country, only observing a foul and barren shore, green fields, and very

wild, black, barbarous inhabitants: all which, by the loss of the ship Batavia, and the cruelties and miseries which followed from that, is fully proved, and was experienced by the crew of the yacht Sardam in their course along this coast."

It is still remarkable that in none of these discoveries are the names of the captains who made them mentioned. The Dutch government clearly set much greater value on their ships than on their captains. The names of the ships are always preserved, but in few cases are the journals of the voyages so cared for. Mr. Major says that he has made all possible enquiries in Holland and Belgium after the account of the voyage of the Gulde Zeepard, but in vain. The only evidence of such a voyage is the passage just quoted, and the Dutch charts, which give the name of Pieter Nuyts to the immense tract of country thus discovered. "Nuyts," says Major, "is generally supposed to have commanded the ship, but Flinders judiciously remarks that as on his arrival at Batavia he was sent ambassador to Japan, and afterwards made governor of Formosa, it seems more probable that he was a civilian,—perhaps the Company's first merchant on board,—rather than the captain of the ship. In estimating the 1000 miles described in the recitals, allowance must doubtless be made for the singularity of the coast, embracing from Cape Leeuwin to St. Francis and St. Peter's Islands."—P. 88.

This discovery of Nuyts' consisted of the whole stretch of coast from Cape Leeuwin to South Australia, and to within that colony as far as Nuyts' Archipelago. The discovery by the ship Vianen was of De Witt's Land, between Endracht Land and Tasman's Land. Here, again, the same obscurity shrouds the real facts of the voyage. Was De Witt captain of the Vianen, or the chief merchant in her? The President, De Brossers says, that William de Witt visited this coast in the same year as the Vianen, but later. That Viane, a Dutch captain, not a ship of that name, discovered the coast, and was wrecked there, and lost all his riches.

That De Witt coming there gave his name to the country which he saw north of Remessin's River. Amongst these conflicting statements nothing seems clear except that the Dutch in 1627 and 1628 discovered Nuyts' Land and De Witt's Land, and gave them these names. The ship Batavia, stated in this accoun to be lost in Houtman's Abrolhos, was that of Captain Pelsart, now to be mentioned.

Five ships, which had been sent into the Southern Seas by Governor Carpenter, brought to Holland a considerable quantity of gold, spices, and other rich goods. The voyagers themselves gave it out that they had recovered these from a vessel which they had found wrecked, but for this they did not gain credit. It was imagined that this newly-found Australia was the source of them. Subsequent events would have made this probable, had the freight been gold only; but the fact of part of the cargo being spices and other goods, put an end to that conjecture. The circumstance, however, whetted the cupidity of the Dutch more than ever, because the Dutch East India Company had made some attempts to land and conquer a part of this continent, or of New Guinea, supposed to be a part of it: enterprises, of some of which probably we have no account, and disastrous in their issue in others, of which we have seen something. This Company, therefore, immediately on the return of General Carpenter to Europe in 1628, fitted out a fleet of eleven sail, to make a close examination of the land and its products. Of the fate of the main portion of the fleet we have no account, but of the voyage and shipwreck of the Batavia, commanded by Captain Francis Pelsart, we have the following account translated from Thevenot's *Recueil des divers Voyages curieux*, 1663.

Pelsart sailed from the Texas on the 28th October, 1628; he reached the western coast of Australia, and on the 4th of June, 1629, the Batavia, being separated from the rest of the fleet in a storm, was driven amongst the rocks lying in latitude 28°, called the Abrolhos, or Shoals of Frederick Houtman, ran aground. They

escaped to one of those islands lying in view, but found no water except what was brackish. The captain having located his people in the islands, set out to seek for water. It seems they had a boat large enough to make a considerable voyage in, for the captain afterwards sailed back to Batavia in it, to procure assistance for his people, amongst whom they had women and children, as if they were intending to found a colony. The captain and his little crew soon saw the coast of the continent, but were unable to land, owing to the violent surf and the rocky nature of the coast. They continued their course northward, seeking in vain for an inlet. The country looked barren and sandy, and by no means inviting. It was the beginning of June when they set out, midwinter in that hemisphere, and it was not till the 15th that they managed to land, and obtained a little rain water. They observed marks of the natives, heaps of ashes, and the remains of craw-fish. But the country was a barren plain, studded with ant-hills so high, that they looked at a distance like huts of negroes, and the flies were in such swarms and so fierce, that they were glad to get to their boat again. They still continued their course northward, in the hope of finding Jacob Remmessin's River, but failing in that, and having already reached the 22d degree of south latitude, they thought it best to steer direct for Batavia to seek help, which they did, and reached it safely about the second of July.

On the return of Pelsart with a fresh vessel to bring off his people, he found the supercargo, Cornelis, had persuaded part of the crew to join him in the design of seizing him as soon as he should arrive, and sail away with his vessel as pirates. They had murdered 125 of the people, men, women, and children, and came off in two boats, designing, when on board, to seize the captain. But being apprised of this by some of the sailors, headed by one Neyberhays, who had remained faithful, he managed to secure these desperate mutineers, tried, and hanged them. The hopes with which the fleet had been fitted out were, however, totally defeated, and the

Dutch, curiously enough, allowed the narrative of this unfortunate attempt to be published, imagining that the nature of the coast, the barrenness of the land, and the miserable condition of the natives as therein described, would have the effect of deterring any other nation from seeking to gain possession of it.

In 1636 they again sent out two yachts under Gerard Thomas Pool to make discoveries in this quarter, but when they reached New Guinea, Pool was killed in a skirmish by the natives, his secretary and two sailors sharing his fate. The supercargo, Pieter Pietersen, however, continued the voyage down the west coast of Australia as far as 11° south latitude, that is, to the north-west point of Arnheim's Land. They stated that they had followed the shore for 120 miles without seeing any people, but many signs of smoke.

It was reserved to Abel Tasman, in a voyage of ten months made from Batavia, that is, from the 15th of August, 1642, to the 15th of June, 1643, to throw more light on Australia, than all the previous voyagers had done. Captain Tasman seems to have been in particular favour with Governor Van Diemen, and is supposed to have been greatly in love with the governor's daughter, Maria Van Diemen, so that we shall find that he went on discovering new lands, and everywhere naming them in honour of his patron and of his fair daughter.

One object of Anthony Van Diemen in sending out Tasman, seems to have been to circumnavigate New Holland, as the Dutch in anticipation of the possession of this continent, had called it. By the means of a more complete knowledge of it, they hoped at a future day to set up an absolute claim to it. No complete narrative of Tasman's voyages has been published, and it is probable that the Dutch never intended it to be. They, however, constructed the chart of New Holland on the pavement of the Stadthouse, at Amsterdam, chiefly from his data, and Dirck Rembrandz published an extract from Tasman's journal, which has ever since

been regarded of great value, and has been repeatedly translated into English.

Tasman sailed from Batavia, on the 14th of August, 1642; which, however, was not the head-quarters of the Dutch government in the East yet, though Batavia had been built on the ruins of Jacatra in 1620, and eventually had the chief seat of government removed thither from Amboyna. Tasman had two vessels, the Heemskirk and the Zee-Haan. After reaching the Mauritius, Tasman says that he struck south on the 8th of October till the 22nd of October, when he found himself in latitude 45° 47′ south, and longitude 89° 14′. He continued sailing eastward in or near this latitude till the 24th of November, when he saw land, Point Hibbs, in 42° 25′ latitude, south, and 163° 50′ longitude, lying east-south-east, at the distance of ten miles, and he called it Van Diemen's Land. He sailed south by east along the coast to the height of 44° south, where the land runs away east and by north. In latitude 43° 10′ south, and longitude 167° 55′, he says he anchored in a bay which he called the Bay of Frederick Henry. His longitude, it will be seen, is according to the old system. According to the modern system of calculating the longitude east and west from the meridian of Greenwich, the part of the southern coast of the island of Van Diemen on which he touched, was about east longitude 146°, and his latitude, as he gives it, 44°. This part of the coast would appear to have been near what is now named Port Davey. On the 25th, they gave the name of this land and the islands, the Boreels, in honour of Anthony Van Diemen, the governor-general of the Dutch Indian settlements. On the 28th, they were near three small islands, one of which they thought like the head of a lion, Mewstone of Furneaux. The following morning, they passed two cliffs, one, the Swilly of Furneaux, like the Pedra Branca, near the coast of China; the other, the eastern cliff, like a high misshapen tower, the Eddystone of Cook.

Tasman would have put into Storm Bay, leading up to

the present capital, Hobart Town, and near what is now called Tasman's Peninsula, but was driven out to sea by wind. He followed up the coast northward to 41° 34′, whence he seems to have sailed out eastward. Had he continued his northerly course about four more degrees he would have struck the great Australian continent not more than three degrees east of the present site of Melbourne, midway betwixt Wilson's Promontory and Cape Howe. Less than a single degree northward from the point whence he diverged eastward, would have brought him into Bass's Straits; he might have had the honour of discovering those straits, that his Diemen's Land was an island, and that the great Terra Australis was exactly in his front. But Tasman appears to have sailed under certain orders to be completed within a certain time, and these kept him continually near the greatest discoveries, and yet prevented him making them. What he did see, however, he noted accurately. This eastern coast of Tasmania bears still marks of his exploration in the Peninsula, named after him, in Tasman's Isle and Maria Island, lying near each other, the latter called after his beloved Maria Van Diemen. He landed near what he called Frederick Henry's Bay on the 1st of December, the height of summer, and says he heard the sound of people, but saw nobody. Probably the natives saw him, but took care not to be seen themselves. He says:—

"All I met with worth observing were two trees, which were two fathoms, or two fathoms and a half, in girth, and sixty or sixty-five feet high, from the root to the branches. They (the natives) had cut with a flint a kind of steps in the bark, in order to climb up to the birds' nests. These steps were at the distance of five feet from each other, so that we must conclude, that either these people are of a prodigious size, or that they have some way of climbing trees that we are not used to. In one of the trees, the steps were so fresh, that we judged they could not have been cut above four days.

"The noise we heard resembled the noise of some sort

of trumpet; it seemed to be at no great distance, but we saw no living creature, notwithstanding. I perceived also, in the sand, the marks of wild beasts' feet, resembling those of a tiger, or some such creature. I gathered also some gum from the trees, and likewise some lack. The tide ebbs and flows there about three feet. The trees in this country do not grow very close, nor are they encumbered with bushes or underwood. I observed smoke in several places; however, we did nothing more than set up a post, on which everyone cut his name, or his mark, and upon which I hoisted a flag. On the 5th of December, being then by observation in the latitude of 41° 34′, and in longitude 169°, I quitted Van Diemen's Land, and resolved to steer east to the longitude 195°, in hopes of discovering the islands of Solomon."

Thus Tasman allowed himself only five days for the prosecution of this most interesting discovery. He was at the very door of Australia, and went away almost without knocking. The notches which he observed that the natives had cut in order to climb, as he supposed, to the birds' nests, it is now well enough known, were to enable them to reach the holes of the opossums. The noise which he heard, and thought some kind of a trumpet, was probably the peculiar cry of cooée made by all the Australian natives, to find one another in the woods, or to give the alarm of the presence of an enemy. They were probably calling the attention of their fellows to the appearance of this strange object, a ship, on their coast, and of white men having landed. For the same reason, they kept themselves completely concealed, which their dark hue rendered very easy. The character of trees, as not in general growing very close together, or being encumbered with bushes, or underwood, is correct, but not so correct in Van Dieman's Land as on the continent of Australia. Their girth of two or two and a half fathoms, that is, from twelve to fifteen feet, however large they might appear to Tasman and his companions, were very small compared with many in the island, which have been found above forty feet in girth, and above 200

feet high. I myself have seen in Australia a tree of nearly that length as it lay on the ground, and of six-and-thirty feet girth near the ground.

The foot-prints of the wild beast in the sand resembling those of a tiger, were, no doubt, those of the Thylacynus, or native hyena, the only beast of that kind found on the island at its entrance by white inhabitants. The gum which he gathered would be the gum Arabic from the acacia trees, and the lack, the gum kino which abounds in the prevalent tree, the Eucalyptus.

On December the 13th, Tasman says he found himself in 42° 10′ south latitude, and 188° 28′ longitude, more correctly longitude 173°, and discovered a high, mountainous, country, which he named Staaten Land, Land of the States, since called New Zealand. In latitude 40° 50′, he anchored in a fine bay. "Here," he says, "we found abundance of inhabitants. They had very hoarse voices, and were very large made people. They durst not approach the ship nearer than a stone's throw; and we often observed them playing on a kind of trumpet, to which we answered with the instruments that were on board our vessel. These people were of a colour between brown and yellow, their hair long and almost as thick as that of the Japanese, combed up, and fixed on the top of their heads with a quill or some such thing, that was thickest in the middle, in the very same manner the Japanese fasten their hair behind their heads. These people cover the middle of their bodies, some with a kind of mat, others with a sort of woollen cloth; but for their upper and lower parts, they leave them altogether naked.

"On the 19th of December these savages began to grow a little bolder, and more familiar, insomuch that they at last ventured on board the Heemskirk, in order to trade with those in the vessel. As soon as I perceived it, I sent my shallop, with seven men, to put the people in the Heemskirk on their guard, and to direct them not to place any confidence in those people. My seven men, being without arms, were attacked by these

savages, who killed three of the seven, and forced the other four to swim for their lives, which occasioned my giving that bay the name of the 'Bay of Murderers.' Our ship's company would undoubtedly have taken a severe revenge, if the rough weather had not hindered them. From this bay we bore away east, having the land in a manner all round us."

Here Tasman was just on the point of the discovery made afterwards by Captain Cook, of the Straits named still after Cook. Tasman, though he was in a bay, was also in the straits betwixt the north and middle islands. The bay now is called Tasman's Bay. He says that the country was rich, fertile, and very well situated, but the weather very foul. All this is very correct of the west coast of the province of Nelson, which is fertile, but subject to frequent rain and winds. Tasman followed the north-west coast, now the coast of Auckland, to its north-west point, which he named after Maria Van Diemen. He then put out north-west, to the island of the Three Kings, which he sailed round, finding it high and rocky, and having a fresh water river. He saw some few inhabitants on the hills, but he says he neither set foot on it, nor on New Zealand. In fact, he had traversed only a part of the north-west coast of New Zealand, and left without ascertaining whether it was an island, islands, or a continent that he had discovered.

In great necessity for provisions, Tasman steered away north for the islands of Horne and Cacaos, isles near the groups of Navigators' and the Feejee islands; he discovered the island of Pylstaart, and in latitude 21° 20′, the islands of Amsterdam, Middleburgh, and Rotterdam, belonging to the group of the Friendly Islands, now called Tongataboo, Eooa, the Ea-oo-we-e of Cook, and Annamooka, where they obtained plenty of hogs, fowls, and a variety of fruits. Being thus supplied, he began to steer directly west, and soon found himself entangled amongst a number of islands surrounded by sands, shoals, and rocks. Those now known as the Feejee Islands, he named Prince William's Is-

lands, or Heemskirk's Shallows, from the Heemskirk nearly grounding amongst them. Thence Tasman sailed along the northern coasts of New Britain and New Guinea, and having passed the western point of the latter island, directed his course to Ceram, and to Batavia, which he reached on the 15th of June, 1643. It does not appear that he went near the north-western coast of Australia on this voyage; but in 1644, he was sent out again for the express purpose of exploring the north and north-western shores of the continent, and to ascertain whether New Guinea really was or was not separated from it.

The instructions to Tasman for this voyage are given at length in the "Book of Despatches." He was to be furnished with three yachts, *Limmen*, *Zeemeuw* and *Brak*, supplied with all necessaries. He was to proceed to Amboyna and Banda; thence by the islands of Tenimber, Key, and Aroun, to the point Turè, or False Cape, situated on the south coast of Nova Guinea; "from which place you are to continue eastward to 9° south latitude, crossing prudently the cove at that place; looking about the high islands of Speult's River with the yachts for a harbour, and to inspect into the state of the country; dispatching the tender, Brak, for two or three days into the cove, in order to discover whether, within the great inlet, there is not to be found an entrance into the South Sea, which soon may be determined by the current of the streams. From this place you are to coast along the west coast of Nova Guinea to the farthest discoveries in 17° south latitude, following this coast farther as it may run west or southward.

"But it is feared that you will meet in these parts with the S.E. trade winds, by which it will be difficult to keep the coast on board, if stretching to the S.E.; but notwithstanding this, endeavour by all means to proceed, in order that we may be sure whether this land is divided from the great known south continent or not, which by the great and slow swell from the S.E. may well be perceived: in which case you shall try, if

possible, to run so far to the S.E. as the New Van Diemen's Land, and from thence to the islands of St. Peter and St. Francis, to learn the situation of these to the northward, and at the same time to be assured (which is much wished for) of a passage to the South Sea between them and the known south land, which found (as we presume and hope), you ought, proceeding through the discovered passage, to steer along the east coast of the known south land, according to its winding; following its direction to the westward to De Witt's Land and Williams' River in 22° south latitude, when the known south land will be entirely circumnavigated, and discovered to be the greatest island of the globe."

The council then express their belief that no opening will be found between New Guinea and New Holland, and adds that, should Tasman find this so, he shall run down the north coast still farther than south latitude 17°, that is, to south latitude 22°, or De Witt's Land, so as to make a complete survey of the north-west coast. He should then proceed in the same course to Houtman's Abrolhos, if possible, and then endeavour to fish up the chest of rix-dollars that was lost in Pelsart's wreck, and which the careful Dutchmen did not forget. He was then—the all-important dollars being attended to—to enquire after the two Dutchmen, who, having forfeited their lives, were put on shore by Pelsart. If he found them, he was to endeavour to learn from them every particular about that part of the country which might be of service to the Company; and, if they desired it, he might give them a passage home. If the late time of the year and probability of storms did not permit him to go to Houtman's Abrolhos, he was to endeavour to complete the discovery of Arnhem's and Van Diemen's Lands, and to ascertain whether there were two islands or one; for the Dutch supposed this part of the country, from having found deep inlets on their coasts, to be one or more islands. From the northern Van Diemen's Land, or De Witt's Land, if he could reach the latter, he was to steer directly back to

Batavia, by the south coast of Java and the straits of Sunda.

There are many other particulars of instruction. He was to make accurate drawings and descriptions of all the countries, capes, bays, points, coves, rivers, reefs, sands, shoals, cliffs, rocks, &c.; and for this purpose a draughtsman was sent with him. He was to be very careful in the latitude and longitude; in describing mountains, hills, trees, buildings; in noting the prevailing currents and winds, and "whatever may be of service in future voyages to the discovered countries."

He was to be exact in taking formal possession of every place for the Company or for Holland; "to prevent any other nation in Europe reaping the fruits of our labour and expences in these discoveries," and, therefore, to put up signs of having taken such possession by erecting stones or posts, planting European trees, or carving the arms of the Netherlands and the Company, and the date of discovery, on such posts, stones, or rocks. If he found people with whom he could trade, he was to produce the goods with which he was furnished, and note what the natives would want, and make every possible enquiry after gold, silver, and other precious metals. To "keep the inhabitants ignorant of the precious value of these metals, not seeming greedy after them. If they offer to barter for your goods, seem not to covet these metals, but show them copper, tutenag (zinc), pewter and lead, as if these were of more value to us." If the people were civilized enough for this purpose, he was to get them to enter into treaties, excluding all other nations except themselves from trading with them or their country. He was to bring home samples of everything likely to turn to account, and was to produce an exact statement of all the trading transactions, so that they might see what profit was made, and what was likely to be useful in the future.

Never was the intense spirit of commerce, which so greatly characterizes the Dutch, more fully displayed than in these instructions to Tasman. No doubt, this

famous captain brought back a very full narrative and exact drawings of all his discoveries, or observations on the coasts already discovered; but these, on the same principle of preventing all other nations reaping any advantage from their discoveries, were so carefully concealed, if they were not destroyed, by the Company, that they have never yet been found. Burgomaster Witsen, in a work on the migrations of the human race, published in 1705, in which he gives some account of the inhabitants of New Guinea and New Holland, says that he drew his information from Tasman. This would look as if there was a narrative of Tasman's voyage accessible to Dutchmen as long as sixty years after it took place; a date at which Tasman himself was most probably dead. The only fragment of this journal of Tasman's given by Witsen, has been translated by Dalrymple in his volume on Papua; and is as follows:—

"In latitude 13° 8′ south, longitude 146° 18′ (probably about 129½° east of Greenwich) the coast is barren. The people are bad and wicked, shooting at the Dutch with arrows, without provocation, when they were coming on shore. It is here very populous.

"In 14° 58′ south, longitude 138° 59′ (about 125° east) the people are savage and go naked; none can understand them. In 16° 10′ south, the people swam on board of a Dutch ship, and when they received a piece of linen, they laid it upon the head in token of gratitude. Everywhere thereabout all the people are malicious. They use bows and arrows of such a length that one end rests on the ground when shooting. They have also hazegayes and kalawayes, and attacked the Dutch, but did not know the execution of the guns.

"In Hollandia Nova, in 17° 12′ south, longitude 121° or 122° east, Tasman found naked black people with curly hair; malicious and cruel, using for arms bows and arrows, hazegayes and kalawayes. They once came to the number of fifty, double armed, dividing themselves into two parties, intending to have surprised the Dutch, who had landed twenty-five men; but the firing of the

guns frightened them so much that they took to flight. Their canoes are made of the bark of trees; their coast is dangerous; there is but little vegetation; the people have no houses.

"In 19° 35′ south, longitude 134° (apparently about 120° east) the inhabitants are very numerous, and threw stones at the boats sent by the Dutch to the shore. They made fires and smoke all along the coast, which it was conjectured, they did to give notice to their neighbours of strangers being upon their coasts. They appear to live very poorly, go naked, eat yams and other roots."

This account agrees with all others of the inhabitants of these coasts, except in their being populous, and having bows and arrows. Populousness has never yet been found a characteristic of any part of Australia, nor are the natives anywhere said to have bows and arrows. The description of them resembles more that of the natives of New Guinea. Were they an influx from that island? or were their light spears and their propelling sticks mistaken by the Dutch for bows and arrows?

Besides this fragment of Tasman's account, as reported by Burgomaster Witsen, there are several maps which appeared within a few years of the voyage, and which appear to be based on Tasman's observations. Mr. Major has traced out several of these. The first is on the mappemonde of Louis Mayerne Turquet, published in Paris in 1648. This was in the same year that the chart of Australia was inscribed on the floor of the Stadthouse at Amsterdam. The next was in the map called Mar di India, in the 1650 edition of Janssen's Atlas, 5 vol. supplement. Next, in the large Atlas of J. Klencke, of Amsterdam, presented to our Charles II. on his restoration in 1660, and now in the King's Library, British Museum. In a chart in Thevenot's *Relation de divers voyages curieux*, 1663. In a map by Van Keulen, a portion of Tasman's track with his soundings is given, but without any reference to Tasman. But the most important of all, there is a map discovered

by Major in the British Museum. It forms article 12 in a miscellaneous collection, marked 5222, in the MSS. department. Mr. Major attributes this copy of Tasman's chart, to a Captain Thomas Bowrey, because it is on precisely the same kind of paper, in the same ink, and by the same hand as one by this gentleman in the same volume, done at Fort St. George, in 1687. This map has no date, but this Captain Bowrey describes himself as having been nineteen years in the east, and engaged in trading and navigation in Sumatra, Borneo, Bantam, and Java, and therefore very likely to be familiar with Dutch charts. Mr. Major gives a reduced copy of this chart in his volume of "Early Voyages to Terra Australis," etc. Introduction, p. xcvi.

Mr. Major regards this chart as an early copy from Tasman's own, and I think with good reason, but it is a document of much greater importance than he himself imagined. Taken in connection with the instructions issued to Tasman for his second voyage, it throws a light on several points that have been much contested, and for the most part completely settles them. Mr. Major says, "It is remarkable that those who have spoken of the part of the coast visited by Tasman in this voyage, have led their readers into a misconception, by attributing the discovery of the Gulf of Carpentaria to Carpenter, and of the northern Van Diemen's Land, to the governor so named." Introduction, p. xcix. Now the instructions to Tasman, by the council of the Dutch East India Company, show that both Arnhem's Land, and the adjoining Van Diemen's Land, were then well known under these names. The name of Carpenter does not appear; but Tasman is directed especially to examine the coasts of the countries then already known as Arnhem's Land, and Van Diemen's Land; and the south Van Diemen's Land, discovered by Tasman only the year before, is distinguished from the northern one by the name of New Van Diemen's Land, and its proper position is pointed out, as I shall show. Mr. Major remarks this sentence, written in the middle of this

chart:—"This large land of New Guinea was first discovered *to joyne* to yé south land, by ye Yot Lenemen, as by this chart, Francois Jacobus, Vis. Pilot-Major, Anno 1643." And he remarks that it is evidently an after insertion, probably by Bowrey, and contains two blunders, those of fact and date. The truth is, that there is only one blunder, and that but of a single year. The date should be 1644, and not 1643; but the "Yot Lenemen," is the Yacht Limmen, one of Tasman's own ships, and this fact, connected with the track of Tasman's soundings, shows us how Tasman came to miss the discovery of Torres Straits, when he was close upon them. But let us compare the instructions to Tasman with this chart.

He was directed to approach New Guinea by the islands Key and Aroum, and we find him doing so by sailing betwixt Ceram and the isle of Banda, and as he approached Aroum, Arrou, or, as it appears to be laid down in the chart, Arago, he keeps south-east, and steers up "the great inlet," as it is called in the instructions, sounding all the way from Arrou. Having arrived, as directed, at False Cape, or Cape Walsh, he was to send the yacht Brak for some days up the great inlet, to discover whether there was a passage there into the South Sea. Instead of the Brak, he appears to have sent the yacht Limmen, whilst he himself steers across to the very point of what is now known as Cape York, and awaits the report of the Limmen. From some cause, the Limmen does not discover the passage through the strait—probably gets entangled amongst the islands abounding there—and reports no entrance into the South Sea. Relying on this report, Tasman continues his course and his soundings down the Gulf of Carpentaria, making "Fresh Water," probably in Batavia Bay. Wellesley Island, towards the south-east corner of the Gulf, is laid down as a promontory; and again, at the south-west corner of the Gulf, "Fresh Water" is marked in Limmen's Bight, probably where Robinson's River is. Groote Eylandt is also given.

Mr. Major states truly that in Klencke's map—which no doubt was based on prior reports of voyages, for we have seen that there were numbers of such statements, besides that of the passage of Torres through this strait, —the strait is left open; but in this map, based on the report of the yacht Limmen, it is closed, and thence-forward the Dutch believed New Guinea and New Holland one country, till Captain Cook again demonstrated the contrary.

In the instructions Tasman is ordered, if he finds an opening between New Guinea and New Holland, to pass through it, and trace the eastern coast of New Holland downwards, so far S.E., till he arrived at the *New Van Diemen's Land*, and thence to the islands of St. Peter and St. Francis, on the coast of what is now South Australia. He was to endeavour to get north of these islands, so as to ascertain whether there was not a passage "between the known South Land, and the New Van Diemen's Land," as, said the council:—"we presume and hope." Thus, at this moment, the Dutch East India Company suspected, what was so repeatedly suspected by succeeding navigators, that there was a strait betwixt Van Diemen's Land and the Australian continent. Tasman was thence to steer away westward, following the coast till he came to De Witt's Land and Williams River, in 22° south latitude, "when the known South Land would be actually circumnavigated."

If he did not find a passage into the South Sea, at what is now called Torres Straits, he was then to follow the north-western coast of New Holland, as far as Houtman's Abrolhos if possible, or failing that, to De Witt's Land, completing the discovery of Arnhem's, and the Northern Van Diemen's Land—and from De Witt's Land, to sail directly back to Batavia by the south coast of Java, and through the Straits of Sunda. Relying plainly on the report of the yacht Limmen, that there was no passage from the great Inlet of the Arafura Sea into the South Sea, this is precisely what Tasman did, according to this chart. He sounded the

whole coast to De Witt's Land, and thence in a direct line struck north-west for Java.

Now all this is extremely clear. Mr. Major says it was a misconception to attribute the discovery of the Gulf of Carpentaria and the northern Van Diemen's Land to the Governors of those names, and himself attributes the discovery of these to Tasman in 1644. But the instructions to Tasman himself before going to this north-west coast for the first time show that Van Diemen's Land was the already settled name of a country there, and contradistinguished from the southern Van Diemen's Land, which he had discovered the year before, by calling that the New Van Diemen's Land. Tasman then, to a certainty, did not discover or name the northern Van Diemen's Land, and there is great show of evidence that he did not either name the Gulf of Carpentaria. Flinders threw out this idea, and subsequent writers and geographers have taken it up; but these instructions and the statements of other writers nearer to the time contradict this idea altogether. "So soon after the voyage as the year 1663," Mr. Major admits himself—that is only nine years afterwards—"we find Thevenot printing as follows:—'We shall, in due course, give the voyages of Carpenter and Diemen, to whom is due the discovery.' Thevenot then knew of the existence of such voyages, and meant to give them. This statement is positive, and that of La Neuville in his *Historie de Holland*, (Paris, 1703), is as positive that the latter examined the coasts of this great land." It is true that the date given by La Neuville of Van Diemen's voyage is wrong, for he had confounded it with Tasman's first voyage; but that does not set aside the voyage itself. "Subsequent geographers," adds Major, "continued to attribute to Carpenter the discovery of Carpentaria, and many of them to Van Diemen the discovery of Northern Van Diemen's Land;" but he quotes Dubois' work, *Vies des Gouverneurs Généraux*, to show that Carpenter could scarcely have discovered this country in 1628, when he returned to Hol-

land on the twelfth of June of that year. But this is not impossible. And what says the account of the voyage of Captain Pelsart given in Mr. Major's own work, p. 59?—"The Directors of the East India Company, encouraged by the return of the five ships of General Carpenter, richly laden, caused eleven vessels to be equipped the very same year, 1628, for the same voyage." It is pretty clear, therefore, that Carpenter had made good use of his time whilst Governor-General at Batavia to explore those eastern seas for rich freight; and this adds to the probability that he took part in these enterprises himself, as is thus positively asserted by Dutch and French writers of the time. Governor Van Diemen, Tasman's great patron, is also known to have returned to Europe immensely rich, a circumstance which strengthens the idea given of him as an enterprising and voyaging Governor by the Dutch writers. Whether, however, Carpenter and Van Diemen discovered the northern regions which bear their names—Arnhem's Land, lying on the Gulf of Carpentaria, and Van Diemen's Land adjoining it to the southward,—nothing can be clearer than that Tasman did not discover, and, therefore, could not name these countries, as one of the great objects of his voyage, as pointed out in his instructions by the council, was to visit and further determine the coasts of the already known lands. Subsequent geographers have, therefore, committed a great error in giving the name of Tasman's Land to the Northern Van Diemen's Land, on the groundless supposition that he discovered it, and have probably done a grave wrong to Governor Van Diemen by removing his name from it, though the narrative of his discovery, like those of so many other Dutchmen, is now lost. Who first gave the name of Carpenter to the Gulf called after him nowhere appears.

Dr. Lang, in his "Historical Account of New South Wales," thinks it was not General Carpenter, the Governor of Batavia, who discovered the Gulf of Carpentaria, but a Captain Peter Carpenter, a relative, who

made the voyage there during his Governorship, and named the gulf after him. P. 2.

The following passage in Major's Introduction, p. lxxviii. is particularly applicable here:—"Of the discoveries made by the Dutch on the coasts of Australia our ancestors of a hundred years ago, and even the Dutch themselves, knew but little. That which was known was preserved in the *Relations des divers voyages curieux* of Melchisedech Thevenot, Paris, 1663-72, fol.; in the *Nord en Oost Tartarye* of Nicolas Witsen, Amsterdam, 1692-1705, fol.; in Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, Amst: 1724-26, fol.; and in the *Inleidning tot de algemeen Geographie* of Nicolas Struyk, Amst., 1740, 4to. To these have since been added the *Book of Despatches*, containing the instructions to Captain Tasman, and an epitome of former Dutch voyages of discovery in Australia, there frequently quoted.

Mr. Major, though willing to put the voyages of Governors Carpenter and Van Diemen out of existence, is very ready to suppose a number of such voyages after their time. He says—"From the voyage of Tasman to the close of the seventeenth century, it is probable that a considerable number of voyages were made to the west coast of New Holland, of which no account has ever been printed." Undoubtedly, and before Tasman's time too. A cause for the suppression of such narratives by the Dutch East India Company, perhaps more effective than its jealousy of foreigners, was its jealousy of the Dutch *West* India Company, which was greatly disposed to invade its chartered regions, and being at home in Amsterdam, was much more likely than foreigners to secure and act upon the information presented by such voyages and their charts. I shall presently have to deal with such a case. Of some of the voyages to Australia by the Dutch after Tasman's time Mr. Major has procured accounts from Amsterdam that have otherwise now become rare.

The earliest of these voyages are given in an "Account of the Wreck of the ship 'De Vergulde Draeck,'

on the South Land, and the expeditions undertaken both from Batavia and the Cape of Good Hope, in search of the survivors, and money, and goods which might be found on the wreck, and the small success which attended them. Drawn up and translated from authentic MS. Copies of the Logbooks in the royal archives at the Hague."

The ship Vergulde Draeck, with a rich cargo, including 78,600 guilders in cash, left the Texel on the 4th of October, 1655, for the East Indies, and was wrecked on the 28th of April, at night, on the west coast of Australia, on a reef stretching out into the sea about six English miles, in latitude $30\frac{2}{3}°$. This is on the coast of the present Western Australia. Of a hundred and ninety souls only seventy-five reached the shore alive, amongst whom were the skipper, Pieter Alberts, and the under-steersman. A boat containing this under-steersman and six sailors managed in about a month to reach Batavia with the news. The Governor and Council despatched the yacht Goede Hoop, and the fly-boat Witte Valk, for the rescue of the sixty-eight persons remaining on the Australian shore. These vessels returned unsuccessful, having also left eleven of their own men on the shore, who had wandered into the woods. Subsequently, the fly-boat Vinck, in its voyage from the Cape of Good Hope to Batavia, was ordered, if possible, to touch at the place of the wreck, and bring off any men who remained alive. The Vinck, arriving during the winter of that hemisphere, June, found it impossible to approach the shore for the serf, and saw no signs of white people on land. Notwithstanding the small chance that any of the people from the two vessels could be now alive, the Company despatched from Batavia on the 1st of January, 1658, two galliots, the Waeckende Boey and Emeloort, to attempt the recovery of men or money. On the 19th of April these vessels returned to Batavia. They had been parted on their voyage, and, notwithstanding its being summer time on the Australian coast, so far from saving

anything or any one, the Waeckende Boey had abandoned fourteen of its men in a reckless manner, who had gone on shore. Four of these men afterwards reached Java in a boat, after incredible sufferings, the rest having perished. The two vessels had seen traces of the wreck of the Draeck at the place, but merely a piece of its mast, some pieces of boxes, a barrel or two, some planks and blocks, and a tafrail. The account of these unfortunate voyages is accompanied by charts made by the Captain of the Waeckende Boey, Captain Samuel Volkersen, given in Major's volume. No fresh discoveries were made by any of these vessels. Like all the previous visitors to that coast they describe it as most dangerous from coral reefs and rocks, the country near the shore barren and sandy.

This coast became a terror to Dutch vessels sailing from the Cape of Good Hope to Batavia for its wrecks. The Ridderschap van Hollandt, which left the Cape in 1685, had not been heard of for ten years, and was supposed to have been wrecked on this coast. After so long an interval the Commodore Willem de Vlamingh, Flamming or Dimming, as it appears on old maps, was ordered on his voyage to India with the ships Gulvink, Nyptang, and Wezel, to make a look-out for any survivors of the wreck. Vlamingh's observations were made from Rottennest Island to Willem's River, and he was on this coast from December 29th, 1696, to the next February, but his search was in vain. He described the coast as extremely miserable. He, however, added something to our knowledge of the country. He discovered Swan River, and the *rara avis in terris* of the port there —the black swan, three of which he carried alive to Batavia, where, however, they soon died. He also found the inscription commemorating the arrival and departure of Dirck Hartog in 1616, which he carried to Batavia, but he inscribed the words on a fresh plate, and added to it another, mentioning his visit, the names of his vessels and chief officers, which was afterwards found there by the French Captain Hamelin of the

Naturaliste, in 1801. Vlamingh left his name on the tract, which is still called Vlamingh's Land, lying between Edel Land and Leeuwin Land, in the centre of the present Western Australia.

In a Journal kept by some one on the voyage, and to be found in Major's "Early Voyages to Terra Australis," published by the Hakluyt Society, p. 120, the writer gives precisely the same character of this coast as preceding navigators, as dangerous with rocks, reefs, and shoals; the land near the shore sandy and barren, and inhabited by a few blacks, sitting under a few bushes instead of houses, around fires. They describe seeing a yellow dog—the ordinary dingo of Australia—and traces of many others; a rat the size of a cat—the kangaroo rat, no doubt; the nest of a large bird, made of sticks on the ground of several yards diameter, probably that of the sea eagle; heard what they fancied to be the song of a nightingale; saw traces of the emu; found very little water, but a terrible torment of flies.

Between the years 1720 and 1730 Houtman's Abrolhos continued to be most fatal to the Dutch ships on their voyage to the East Indies and back. Amongst these were the Zuysdorp in 1711, and the Zeewyk in 1727. In 1840 an English captain, whose name is given as Crawford Pako, no doubt the Pako being misspelt, touched here and found various remains of wrecked vessels; namely, a brass gun, a great number of Dutch bottles, some large brass buckles, and copper coins of the dates of 1620 and 1700, very probably belonging to the wreck of Pelsart's ship, Batavia, and the Zeewyk.

Part of this coast had been explored by Du Quesne in 1687, and was now visited by our famous navigator, Dampier: but I pass these to conclude the Dutch voyages.

The last expedition which the Dutch sent out for discovery on the north-west and western coast of Australia, seems to be that of the three ships the Vossenbach, the Wager, and the Nova Hollandia. Of the officers of these vessels we have a very imperfect account. They left Batavia on the 23rd of January, 1705, and on

the 2nd of April they reached the north-west corner of the Northern Van Diemen's Land. "They occupied themselves from that time to the 12th of July in visiting the bays, headlands, islands, rivers, etc., to the best of their ability, according to their instructions. But not being sufficiently provided with fresh provisions for so long a voyage, many men on board began to suffer and die." They, therefore, put back, but they lost many men before reaching Batavia; the skipper, upper and under steersman, with most of the sailors of the Vossenbach, were dead. One Martin van Delft then became skipper of the Vossenbach, and his name and that of the Captain of the Nova Hollandia, Pieter Frederick of Hamburg, being the only names of the chief officers given: for the Vossenbach and Wager being forced by stress of weather into Macassar, the greater part of their journals and maps were seized and detained there. Thus we have only an account drawn up by the councillors, Hendrick Swaardecron, and Cornelis Chastelin, drawn up from the imperfect journals and reports of the survivors. As this states no latitudes, we cannot determine the exact extent of the survey they made. They appear to have examined a small part of the north coast, and there to have passed amongst the archipelago of which Melville's island is the chief, and thence sailed some forty or fifty miles down what is now named Cambridge Gulf. Seeing so many islands they came to the profound conclusion "that the South Land consists in a great measure of islands;", and not having reached the bottom of Cambridge Gulf, that it probably went "right through to the south side of New Holland." This account of what they saw of the country and the natives agrees with all preceding surveys, except that they say that they saw at one place "a tiger,"—not a very probable thing. The coast sandy, the country inland more fertile.

In 1721 an enterprise was set on foot by the Dutch West India Company, which greatly excited the anger and alarm of the Dutch East India Company. A pro-

ject for founding a colony in Nuyt's Land was laid before the Governor-General, Van Swoll, at Batavia, by a Mons. Jean Pierre Purry, of Neufchatel. This was rejected, but was again brought before the Dutch East India Company at Amsterdam, where it met with the same fate. M. Purry published his memorial in 1718, under the title of "Mémoire sur le Pays des Caffres et la Terre de Nuyts par rapport à l'utilité que la Compagnie des Indes Orientales en pourroit rètirer pour son Commerce." This was followed by a second Mémoir, and M. Purry laid his project before the Dutch West India Company. With them he does not seem to have been more successful; but a merchant of the name of Roggewein, or Roggewen, submitted to the West India Company a scheme regarding an expedition to the southern land, supposed by Valentyn to be in search of gold, which was more favourably received. The differences between Holland and Spain prevented the immediate carrying out of the plan. Roggewein died, but took a promise from his son to see it executed. The son, engaged in business, for many years, neglected it. In 1707 we find him on board the ship Vaderland Getrouw, going out to Batavia. Probably what he then heard of the south land made him desirous to fulfil his engagement to his father, for in 1721 a squadron of three ships was fitted by the West India Company, the Eagle, the Tienhoven, and the African galley, and Roggewein was made commander, under Commodore Roggewein. The Eagle was commanded by Captain J. Coster, and the Tienhoven by Captain Bowman, and the African by Captain Roenthal. The African was lost in the Pacific. Roggewein was out ten months, but so little did he or his officers know where they were, that they could not find the Terra Australis at all. They seem to have found their way to islands which they named Bowman's, in searching for New Guinea; then to have passed north of both New Guinea and New Britain, and reached Batavia by way of the Moluccas. They had discovered the Bowman Islands, as it were, by accident, though they could not

find Australia at all. At Batavia Roggewein had his ships seized by the Dutch East India Company. This act was, however, reversed by the States General on their reaching home, and the arbitrary East India Company was compelled to find the West India Company two new ships of great value, and to pay heavy damages. This decision put a curb on the despotism of this company in these seas, but so far as Roggewein's voyage concerned Australian discovery, it amounted to precisely nothing. And this closes the period of Dutch discovery.

CHAPTER III.

DISCOVERIES OF DAMPIER.

Dampier's early life.—His wanderings.—A logwood cutter.—Joins the buccaneers.—Helps to plunder the Spanish Settlements.—His quick and accurate observation of the countries visited by him.—In 1687 he and his buccaneer companions reached the west coast of Australia, in the part now called Dampier Land.—His description of the country and people.—Their low condition.—The plague of flies.—Lionel Wafer's narrative of this voyage.—Appointed by the English Government to the ship Roebuck.—His second voyage to Australia.—Touched at Shark's Bay.—His description of the coast.—The birds and animals.—Portraits of the people.—In 1699 visited the northern coast of New Guinea.—Discovered that New Britain was an island.—Wrecked on his return at the Isle of Ascension.—His subsequent life.—Between 1708 and 1711 again visited New Guinea, and in the Pacific found Alexander Selkirk on Juan Fernandez.—His account of kangaroos, emues, and the splendid flower now called Clianthus Damperi.

WILLIAM DAMPIER was member of a respectable family of Somersetshire, in which county, at East Coker, he was born in 1652. From a lad he had a strong prepossession for the sea. At the age of seventeen he bound himself apprentice to a captain, with whom he made a voyage to Newfoundland, the hardship of which so disgusted him with sea-life, that he returned to his friends in the country. But his old taste revived, and he made a voyage to Java, and afterwards entered the royal service, was in two engagements, and then quitted it on account of ill health. Afterwards he managed an estate in Jamaica, then became a logwood cutter in Campeachy; and during these last modes of life he made acquaintance with some buccaneers. With them he made an expedition to Panama, Peru, and various places in the Pacific, plundering the Spanish settlements. In this piratical and adventurous life he continued from 1680 to 1691; and during these eleven years he and his different companions pursued their buccaneer practices on various parts of the South American coasts, in Mexico, California, in the South Seas, proceeding on to the Phillipine Isles, the coasts of China, Siam, India, the Spice Islands,

the Celebes, and so far as the Isle of Timor and New Holland.

However lawless might be the life of Dampier and his comrades, who sometimes amounted to six or seven hundred men, the journal that he kept displays not only a quick and clear observation of all he saw, but a remarkable truth in his accounts of them. Men, the features of nature, animals, fruits, flowers, all the products of the many countries that he visited, are described with the talent of a man that has his eyes open and his wits about him. He could see nothing without endeavouring to make others see it: and when you have knowledge of the same countries and the same productions, it is a singular pleasure to review things exactly as you have known them.

Dampier approached Australia from the island of Timor. On seeing the shoal at the east end of that island, he says that, "by their charts they were only from sixteen to twenty leagues from New Holland, but that they ran at least sixty leagues due south before they fell in with it." The fact is, that they ought to have run south-east, in which case they would have struck the land in little more than half the distance, at Cape Londonderry, whereas they ran down to Cape Leveque, since called Dampier Land, in latitude 16° south. He adds, "I am very certain that no part of New Holland lies so far to the north by forty leagues as it is laid down in our hydrographical maps; for I found the tides on the coast of New Holland keeping their constant course, the flood running north-by-east, and the ebb south-by-east." The circumstance of their touching land so much farther south than they calculated, might partly give Dampier this idea of the country being placed in the charts too far north, but it probably was also because New Guinea had far generally been supposed to be a part of the Australian continent. The tides running as he observed them, probably was owing to the current through Torres Straits, of which opening Dampier was not aware.

"On January 4th, 1688," he says, "we fell in with

the land at 16 degrees 50 minutes latitude; and running along to the east twelve leagues, came to a point of land, three leagues to the east of which is a deep bay. We anchored a league to the east of this point, January 5th, two miles from the shore, in 29 fathoms, hard sand, and clean ground. New Holland is a vast tract of land, but whether an isle, or part of the continent, is unknown hitherto. This much I am sure of, that it neither joins to Asia, Africa, or America, hereabouts. It was very low and sandy ground, the points only excepted, which are rocky, and some isles in this bay. This part had no fresh water, except what was dug; but divers sorts of trees, and among the rest the dragon-tree, which produces the gum dragon, or dragon's blood. We saw neither fruit trees, nor so much as the track of any living beast of the bigness of a large mastiff dog. Some few land birds, but none larger than a black-bird, and scarcely any water-fowl. Neither does the sea afford any fish, except tortoises and manatus, both which they have mostly plenty. The inhabitants are the most miserable wretches in the universe, having no houses; no garments except a piece of the bark of a tree, tied like a girdle round the waist; no sheep, poultry, or fruits, but feed upon a few fish, cockles, muscles, and periwinkles. They are without religion or government. The Hodmadods of Monomatapa, though a nasty people, yet for wealth are gentlemen to these, who have no houses, and skin garments, sheep, poultry, and fruits of the earth, ostrich eggs, &c., as the Hodmadods have, and setting aside their human shape, they differ but little from brutes. They are tall, straight-bodied, and thin, with small, long limbs. They have great round foreheads, and great brows. Their eyelids are always half closed, to keep the flies out of their eyes; they being so troublesome here that no fanning will keep them from coming to one's faces: and without the assistance of both hands to keep them off, they will creep into one's nostrils, and mouth too, if the lips are not shut very close. So that from their infancy, being thus annoyed with these

insects, they do never open their eyes as other people do; and, therefore, they cannot see far, unless they hold up their heads, as if they were looking at somewhat over them.

"They have great, bottle noses, pretty full lips, and wide mouths. The two fore teeth of their upper jaw are wanting in all of them, men and women, old and young; whether they draw them out I know not: neither have they any beards. They are long-visaged, and of an unpleasing aspect, having no graceful feature in their faces. Their hair is black, short, and curled, like that of the negroes, and not long and lank, like the common Indians. The colour of their skin, both of their faces and the rest of their body, is coal black, like that of the negroes of Guinea. They live in companies, twenty or thirty men, women, and children together. Their only food is a sort of small fish, which they get by making weirs of stones across little coves, or branches of the sea; every tide bringing in the small fish, and there leaving them for a prey to these people, who constantly attend to search for them at low water. This small fry I take to be the top of their fishing; they have no instrument to catch great fish, should they come, and such seldom stay to be left behind at low water: nor could we catch any fish with our hooks and lines all the while we lay there. Of the shell fish mentioned, there are few, so that their chief dependence is on what the sea leaves in their weirs, which, be it much or little, they gather up and march to the place of their abodes. There the old people, that are not able to stir abroad by reason of their age, and the tender infants, wait their return; and what Providence has bestowed on them they presently broil on the coals, and eat it in common. Sometimes they get as many fish as makes them a plentiful banquet, sometimes they scarcely get every one a taste; but little or much, each one, whether able to go out for it or not, has his share. When they have eaten, they lie down till the next low water, and then all that are able march out, be it night or day, rain or shine, it is all

one; they must attend the weirs, or they must fast, for the earth affords them no food at all. There is neither herb, root, pulse, nor any sort of grain that we saw, nor any bird or beast that they can catch, having no instruments for it.

"I saw no iron, nor any other metal there." Dampier says that he gave them some old clothes, to induce them to help them in carrying small water-barrels to the canoes, but that though the barrels contained only six gallons each, and they put them on their shoulders for them, all the signs they could make to get them to carry them were useless: "they stood like so many statues without motion, and grinning like so many monkies, and they had to carry the barrels themselves. The natives quickly put off the clothes, and did not seem to value anything the Dutch had. Some whom they took on board ate voraciously of what was given them, but did not notice anything else in the ship."

This is all the account Dampier gives us of Australia, on this visit, for the spot where they touched was not one to tempt the stay or further acquaintance of buccaneers. They sailed away on the 12th of March, having been on the Australian coast just twelve days, and steered for Sumatra and thence to the Nicobar islands, Tonquin and other parts in their wandering life. Few as are Dampier's touches in his picture of what little he saw of Australia and its inhabitants, however, each is less a touch than a picture. What a throng of characteristics that short statement is composed of! The sandy coast, the want of fruit-trees, no marks of animals, except one of the size of a mastiff—this being the wild dog. The kangaroo they did not get a sight of. Neither did they go far enough inland to discern its almost endless variety of birds, especially its vast flocks of water fowl. The description of the inhabitants is a photograph, though the loss of the front teeth in the women, so far as I know, was not caused by knocking them out, as they do those of the men. The swarms of flies, the weapons are all exact; the sort of wooden cutlass, being the boomerang; and how true is

the statement that they could not by any means induce them to help them in carrying water, or any other matter; for they were and are "averse to working."

In part of these buccaneering voyages, Dampier had as comrade the famous Lionel Wafer, as surgeon of the ship, who published an account of their expeditions in the South Seas, their abode at the isle of Cocaos, and their raids on the coasts of Peru, &c. After his return to England, in 1691, Dampier became very famous for his voyage round the world, and the lawless, but extraordinary adventures on almost all sides of the globe. This reputation recommended him to Thomas Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, High Admiral to William III., who put him in command of His Majesty's ship, Roebuck, carrying twelve guns, fifty men and boys, and twelve months' provisions. The object was to prosecute further discoveries of Australia. They sailed from the Start on the 14th of January, 1698-9, and made for the Cape of Good Hope, after touching at the Cape Verd Islands, and Bahia, on the coast of Brazil. At these places Dampier describes the productions of the climate, the custard apple, papaus, cocoa nuts, and other things, with his usual taste for such matters; as also the monkeys, parrots, partridges, the cotton-trees, sugar-canes, the mode of refining sugar by clarifying, the indigo, tobacco, maize, with numerous kinds of fruits and vegetables; the mangos, guavas, bananas, plantains, potangos, and abundance of other tropical fruits; the cabbage-tree, and its uses, the abundance of melons, musk-melons, water-melons, pine-apples, yams, cassavas, as well as the great variety of fowls and other birds, and the numerous animals, with equal minuteness. The reading of him is like walking about the markets and plantations of Brazil.

Dampier rounded the Cape of Good Hope in June, and then stood away for the coast of New Holland, which he reached on the 2nd of August, after a voyage of 114° from Brazil, and of six months and nineteen days from leaving England. The part of the country which he touched was again the western coast of Aus-

tralia, at that deep bay in Endracht's Land, in 25° south latitude, to which he gave the name of Shark's Bay, which it retains. He says, "The coast here also abounded with rocks and shoals. The land is pretty high, but the shore steep to the sea. The mould is sand by the sea-side, producing a large sort of samphire which bears a white flower. Farther in, the mould is reddish, mixed with a sort of sand, producing some grass, plants, and shrubs. The grass grows in great tufts as big as a bushel, here and there a tuft, being intermixed with a great deal of heath, much of the kind we have growing on our commons in England. Of trees and shrubs, here are divers sorts, but none above ten feet high, their bodies being about three feet round, and five or six feet high before you come to the branches, which are bushy, and composed of small twigs there, spreading abroad, though thick-set and full of leaves, which were mostly long and narrow. The colour of the leaves was on the one side whitish, and on the other green; the bark of the back of the two was generally of the same colour with the leaves, of a pale green. Some of these trees were sweet-scented, and reddish within the bark, like sassafras, but darker. Most of these trees had, at this time, either blossoms or berries on them. The blossoms of the different sorts of trees are of divers colours, as red, white, yellow, etc., but mostly blue; and these smelt very sweet and fragrant, as did also some of the rest. There were, besides, some plants, shrubs and tall flowers, some very small flowers growing on the ground, that were sweet and beautiful, and for the most part unlike any I had seen elsewhere. There were but few land-fowls; I saw none but eagles, of the larger sort of birds, but five or six sorts of small birds. The larger sorts of these were no bigger than larks, some no bigger than wrens, all singing with great variety of fine shrill notes, and we saw some of their nests, with young ones in them."

This time he saw plenty of water-fowls, with their young ones, it being the spring of that part of the world.

He observed ducks, curlews, galdens, crabcatchers, cormorants, gulls, pelicans, eagles, white parrots, and others that he had never seen anywhere else. He saw what he called a sort of raccoon, jumping animals, but as he does not remark them as large, they were probably kangaroo rats or wallabies. He saw also very ugly iguanos, which he said had, instead of a tail, a nob like a second head, but without eyes or mouth, appearing as if the creature were made to run either forward or backward. As before, he found great difficulty in obtaining fresh water, even by digging. He therefore sailed northward to 20° 21′, when he again met with tides which impressed him with an idea that there was an opening somewhere eastward into the Pacific. It was not however destined to him to rediscover Torres Straits. He found at the spot where he lay to, an archiepelago of islands, still called Dampier's Archipelago. One of these islands off Bluff-Point he named Rosemary Island from a shrub resembling rosemary. He also found shrubs there bearing beans, that is leguminous shrubs, of which Australia has abundance, her mimosas being of this kind. Going ashore they had an encounter with the natives, and were obliged to fire and wound one. A chief amongst them had his face and body painted with streaks of white, these streaks running round his eyes and down his nose, as the Australians now paint themselves for a corrobborie. Of the people in general he says;—"All of them have the most unpleasant looks, and the worst features of any people I ever saw, though I have seen a great variety of savages. These New Hollanders were probably the same sort of people as those I met with on this coast on my voyage round the globe: for the place I then touched at was not above forty or fifty leagues to the north of this, and these were much the same blinking creatures; here are also abundance of the same flies teasing them, and the same black skin and hair frizzled, tall, thin, etc., as those were. But we had not the opportunity to see whether these, as the former, wanted the two fore teeth. We saw a great many places where they had made fires,

and where there were commonly three or four boughs stuck in the ground to the windward of them. . . . We saw no houses, and I believe they have none, since the former people had none, though they had all their families with them."

He says that except for the pleasure of discovering the barrenest spot on the face of the globe, this coast of New Holland would not have charmed him much. The shores were sandy and barren; further inland the country looked low and level, partly savannah, partly woodland. He saw again the native dogs, extremely lean, and plenty of water-fowls: green turtle in the sea, and abundance of whales. They killed turtles 200 pounds weight, and lived on them and manatoes.

Dampier says he meant to have explored the coast still onward north-east, with all its islands, bays, and promontories. He answers supposed inquiries why he did not go southward and explore the southern and eastern coast of Australia, by saying that the time of year was too stormy. He therefore resolved to bear away to Timor to seek a supply of fresh water and fresh provisions. Having done this, and discovered the passage between Timor and the island of Anaboo, and having found much distrust of the British strangers in the Dutch governor, he, in December 1699, directed his course to New Guinea, and traversed its northern coast, outside its chain of numerous islands, and north also of New Britain as far as Anthony Cave's, and St. John's islands, where he followed the coast of New Britain south-west, and discovered the passage between New Guinea and New Britain, thus ascertaining that New Britain was an island, and not a part of New Guinea. He therefore gave it the name of New Britain. Whilst traversing the northern side of New Guinea, like former navigators, he saw several volcanoes on the islands and in the mainland.

Having assured himself that New Britain was an island, had Dampier proceeded a few degrees further south he would also have rediscovered Torres Straits, but

all things are not given to one man. That and the eastern coast were left to future navigators. Dampier, satisfied with what he had done, now set sail for Batavia, and from thence, by the Cape of Good Hope, homeward. On the 21st of February, 1701, he reached the Isle of Ascension, where his vessel sprung a leak, and owing to the unskilfulness of the carpenter the ship was lost. Some men-of-war happening to touch there, took him and his crew on board, and in this manner he was carried to Barbadoes, whence he embarked for England in an East Indiaman; being naturally anxious to clear himself from blame in the loss of the ship, and to obtain credit for his discoveries.

The latter years of Dampier did not maintain his fame as a discoverer. In 1703 he was sent out in a vessel named the St. George, accompanied by the Fame, Captain Pulling, to cruise in the South Seas, for the benefit of a company of merchants. Pulling very soon sailed away by himself, on pretence of cruising amongst the Canary Islands, and Dampier was joined by another small vessel, called the Cinque-Ports Galley. Dampier, however, quarrelled with Mr. William Funnel, who was on board as supercargo for the owners, and Funnel went on board the Cinque-Ports at Tobago, with Captain Stradling; afterwards the quarrel was renewed in the South Seas, betwixt Dampier and Captain Stradling. Stradling was wrecked off Babacora, and Funnel sailed for the Indian Ocean in a prize, where their vessel was seized by the Dutch East India Company, and they were sent home in the Dutch East India Fleet. Before putting in at Amboyna, they had been on the coast of New Guinea, but had added nothing to Australian discovery. Dampier's fate was just the same; his vessel was also seized by the Dutch, and he had to get home as he could.

Dampier in 1708 again went as pilot of the Duke and Duchess privateers, which, with other vessels, the property of Bristol merchants, made a predatory voyage amongst the Spanish settlements on the South American coasts, and in the South Sea. Captain Woodes Rogers

was the chief of the expedition. The voyage lasted till 1711, and was extremely successful. This squadron also visited the coast of New Guinea, but made no additional discoveries there. The most remarkable thing on the voyage was the discovery of Alexander Selkirk, on the island of Juan Fernandez, and the bringing of him away, after a solitary abode there of four years and four months. Selkirk had been left there by Stradling, the master of the Cinque Ports, who had parted with Dampier in these seas. Here, in the adventures of Selkirk, was the origin of the world-famous story of Robinson Crusoe.

So far as the discoveries of Dampier in Australia go, they are on the whole correct, and livingly stated. Had he penetrated into the interior, we should have had another picture: the fine forests, the fine pasture lands, the infinite variety of birds and insects, the herds of springing kangaroos, and the solitary emus. He notices the activity of the natives in swimming over from island to island; in his second voyage he saw plenty of fish on the coast, skates, thornbacks, bream, gar-fish, bonetas, oysters, both pearl and eating, with abundance of beautiful shells on the sands. He saw a considerable number of sea-serpents at different times, swimming in the clear sea water. They were each about four feet long, as thick as a man's wrist, of a yellow colour, spotted with dark brown spots, and with flattish tails, four fingers broad. They saw some of these every day, as well as abundance of dolphins, whales, cuttle-fish, etc. Tasman's soundings he found generally correct, but not always, and as generally placed nearer the shore than he could have got; at the distance represented Dampier found them shallower. He describes the magnificent flower with the deep red colour, now called after him, Clianthus Damperi; and the coast in some places lined with small, black mangrove trees. He is particular in describing the strong currents on that coast, and the prevailing winds. In his last visit he had a skirmish with the natives, with whom he sought

to come into conversation, to learn where they got their fresh water. But they threw their lances at the English, and when they fired a gun to frighten them with the sound, at first they defied them, tossing their heads and crying "Pooh, pooh, pooh!" They were obliged to wound one man before they could get clear of them. Dampier's sketch of Western Australia is like one done in pen and ink, sharp, clear, and distinct, but by no means flattering or rose-coloured.

CHAPTER IV.

DISCOVERIES OF CAPTAIN COOK IN AUSTRALIA, VAN DIEMEN'S LAND, AND NEW ZEALAND FROM 1768 TO 1770.

Sailed from Plymouth in 1768, to prosecute discoveries in the southern hemisphere.—Previous voyages of Byron, Wallis, Carteret, and Cook in the Pacific.—Accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander in the ship Endeavour.—Passed through the Straits of Le Maire into the Pacific, and noticed a transit of Venus, June the 4th, 1767.—Sailed for New Zealand, taking with him Tupia, a native priest, and a native boy with him.—October 7, touched the Northern Island at Poverty Bay.—Thought they had reached the Australian continent.—Striking description of the country and people.—Their warlike aspect and character, and unwillingness to be friendly.—Cook kidnaps two youths uselessly. Sailed westward, naming Cape Table, Portland Island, Hawke's Bay.—People still hostile.—Tupia's language intelligible to them.—Skirmish with the natives. Natives afterwards come on board.—Cook coasted along from Cape Turnagain to Tolega Bay, where they landed.—Description of the people, and their mode of life.—Their fenced gardens.—Boys found whipping tops.—Nails not valued.—Visited a hippah or pah.—Plants and trees of the country.—Wild celery.—Coasts on eastward to Mercury Bay, and Bay of Islands.—People everywhere defiant or thievish.—Various birds seen.—The vast Kauri pines.—Numerous villages on the coast.—Many mountains inland.—Named many heads, points, and bays on the coast.—Bay of Islands.—Cape Maria van Diemen.—The Three King's Islands.—The north-west coast to Queen Charlotte's Sound.—Cape and Mount Egmont.—Sojourn there in Ship Cove till January, 1770.—Murderer's Bay of Tasman.—Went on shore.—Signs of cannibalism.—Steep mountains.—The woods impenetrable.—Abundance of fish in the sea.—Music of birds at sunrise.—Natives there friendly.—Purchased tattooed heads.—Manners and dress of the people.—Sailed through the strait between the North and Middle Islands.—Named its bays and capes.—Various capes and bays named by him.—Character of these islands, coasts, and mountains.—Sailed in March, 1770, in quest of Australia.—Cook's opinions of New Zealand and New Zealanders.—Recent opinions regarding Captain Cook's treatment of the natives in New Zealand.—Cook sighted Point Hicks and Ram Head in Australia.—Liked the look of the country.—Made a chart of the coast from Hicks' Point to Torres Straits.—Named all the bays and points as far as Botany Bay, and laid down a chart of the coast.—Delight of Banks and Solander at the prodigality of strange and beautiful flowers.—Natives with their painted bodies, boomerangs, and womeras.—Huts and canoes.—Character of the country.—Strange birds.—Passed Port Jackson without examining it.—Sailed northwards.—Moreton Bay.—Still northward to Bustard Bay, where they landed.—Mangroves, gum-tree ants, native companions, and natives.—Bay of Inlets.—Cumberland Islands.—Landed again.—Cape Tribulation, ship runs on a coral reef.—Endeavour River.—Land their stores to repair the ship's bottom.—New experiences of the country there.—Sail for Torres Straits.—Names of bays, points, islands, etc.—Providential Channel.—Cape York.—York Isles.—Crowds of Islands.—Did any one traverse the east coast before Cook?—Cook's voyage along the southern coast of New Guinea, and thence home by the Cape of Good Hope.—Great work done by Cook in this survey.—The value of his charts of the coast.—Cook's remarks on Australia and its natives.

IN May, 1768, Captain James Cook sailed down the Thames from Deptford Yard, in the ship Endeavour, and

anchored in Plymouth Sound, preparatory to a voyage to Otaheite in the South Seas, in order to observe the transit of Venus, and after that to prosecute discoveries in the southern hemisphere. This voyage was one of a series instituted by George III., and executed under the commands of Commodore Byron, and Captains Wallis, Carteret, and Cook, in the ships Dolphin, Swallow, and Endeavour. As the explorations of the commanders preceding Cook were on the coasts of South America and in the Pacific, not extending to Australia or New Zealand, they concern us no further than as they paved the way for the Australian discoveries.

Captain Cook was now not only to make a more extensive research amongst the islands of the various groups of the South Sea, but he was directed to follow out the discoveries by Tasman, regarding New Zealand, called by Tasman Staaten Land, and Van Diemen's Land, in order to ascertain whether they constituted portions of the great, and still vaguely known Australian continent.

In order to render effective the discoveries in natural history, Captain Cook was accompanied by Joseph, afterwards Sir Joseph Banks, a gentleman of property in Lincolnshire, but who was zealously devoted to scientific pursuits, especially of botany. Mr. Banks had already made a voyage to Newfoundland and Labrador, in 1763, where he had suffered considerable hardships in pursuit of his favourite science, but this did not deter him from engaging in the then formidable enterprise of a visit to the antipodes. He engaged Dr. Solander, another eminent botanist to accompany him. Solander was a Swede, and educated under Linnæus himself, from whom he had brought letters of recommendation to England, and in consequence of which he had been appointed to an office in the British Museum. Two draftsmen were also engaged by Mr. Banks, one to draw views and figures, the other to paint the various subjects of natural history that they might discover. On the completion of the voyage, the journals of both Mr. Banks and Captain Cook were put into the hands of Dr. Hawksworth, from

whom we have the authentic account of this voyage, in two vols. 4to.

Captain Cook sailed from Plymouth on the 26th of August, and proceeded by Rio Janeiro and through the Straits of Le Maire into the Pacific, and arrived at Otaheite in April of the following year, 1769. The transit of Venus was successfully observed on the 4th of June, and having employed themselves in making a familiar acquaintance with the inhabitants of the Society Islands, they sailed from Oterauh to New Zealand, on the 15th of August, taking with them from Otaheite Tupia, a native, and chief priest, and a boy, his servant, of about thirteen years of age. On the 7th of October they fell in with the south-east coast of Eaheinomawe, or what is now called the North Island of New Zealand, at a place which they named Poverty Bay.

Tasman had struck New Zealand in Queen Charlotte's Sound, and came to anchor in the large bay in the mouth of the Straits between the North and Middle Islands without discovering those straits. The natives attacked one of his boats' crew, and killed three of them, whence he named the bay Murderers' Bay, now called after him, Tasman's Bay. Thence he steered along the north-west coast of New Zealand, not venturing again to land; then continued his course as far as the Three Kings' Islands, which he sailed round; and from this point advanced northwards, not having determined whether this land was an island or islands, or part of the great Terra Australis. It now remained for Cook, and formed part of his duty, according to his instructions, to ascertain what the country really was.

Like Tasman, Cook and his companions found the natives bold and aggressive. They were ready to fight any number of the strangers, and even when they saw the effect of their fire-arms did not appear a whit daunted. Cook did not know that he had fallen in with Staaten Land, but says the country was the subject of much eager conversation, and the general opinion was that they had found the Terra Australis incognita.

They describe the first appearance of the country as very striking, with four or five ranges of hills rising one above another, and a chain of mountains above all, which appeared to be of an enormous height. They sailed into a large bay: the hills round covered with wood, some of the trees in the valley very large. They saw smoke rising from various places, and houses small but neat. They were much struck with the sight of a hippah, or fortification of the natives, and could not conceive what it was. "Upon a small peninsula, at the north-east head, we could plainly perceive a pretty high and regular paling, which enclosed the whole top of a hill, which was the subject of much speculation, some supposing it to be a park of deer, others an enclosure for oxen and sheep." The sides of the bay were of white cliffs of a great height, the middle, low land, with hills rising gradually behind, one towering above another, and terminating in the chain of mountains, which appeared far inland. They discovered a small, clear river, and on landing were soon attacked by the natives with lances, and a sort of war-hatchet, of green talc, capable of splitting the hardest skull at a blow. They saw that these daring natives had their hair drawn up on all sides, and tied on the top of their heads, just as Tasman had described the people of Staaten Land, but they had no feathers stuck in this knot. They found it impossible to come to an amicable understanding with them, although they discovered that Tupia was perfectly understood by them, and assured them no harm was intended them; and they could not effect their retreat without shooting one of them dead. The next day, in again endeavouring to open intercourse with them, they succeeded in approaching them, but then they became as thievish as they had before shown themselves daring; they endeavoured to snatch away their arms, and were only prevented by wounding some of them with small shot.

Failing in his attempts at communication on land, Cook now endeavoured to take some of them that came

out in boats, carry them on board, and win their confidence by treating them kindly. This, however, was not accomplished without killing four more of them. Cook captured two youths, and carried them aboard, where they soon became reconciled, and eat and drank voraciously, but on being put ashore, no confidence was inspired by them amongst their friends, as had been expected, and Tupia telling Cook that they were still hostile and dangerous, Cook weighed anchor and followed the coast eastward. He named the south-west point of Poverty Bay, Young Nick's Head, from Nicholas Young, the boy who first saw land. They soon saw and named Cape Table, and Portland Island, and then Hawke's Bay. They could see the mountains inland covered with snow; and vast numbers of people watching from different parts of the shore. These still displayed the same hostility, and came off ever and anon in their boats, and menaced them with great bravado. When some of them came near enough, Tupia told them of their folly, for the white men had weapons that like thunder would kill them in a moment, and tear their canoes to atoms; that to show them the effect without hurting them, they would now use them, whereupon a four-pounder loaded with grape shot was fired, which by its flash, its roar, and the effect of the shot far-off on the water, astonished them for a moment, but only for a moment. Being persuaded to come near, and barter being attempted, they took every thing offered, but then refused to give the articles presented for exchange, and ended by seizing Tayeto, Tupia's boy, who was sent down into the boat along side to hand up the articles to be received from them, and carrying him off in a canoe. This compelled Cook to fire on them again, one man was killed, and two others wounded, the boy was let go and sprang into the water, where, however, he was only protected till he reached the ship, by the fire-arms of the crew.

Finding it hopeless to establish any intercourse with these people, Cook named the south-west point of the bay where this occurred, Kidnapper's Point, and sailed

on eighteen leagues till he reached a high bluff head, with yellowish cliffs, where, seeing no signs of a harbour, he named it Cape Turnagain, and then veered about, and sailed back north-eastward. On passing Portland Island, a chief and his company, five altogether, in a canoe, came aboard, his kindness to the lads having at length produced its effect. They had their canoe hoisted on board, and staid all night without any misgivings. In the morning they were put out at Cape Table, appearing much astonished at finding themselves so far away from home. At twelve leagues from Cape Table, they saw and named Gable-End Foreland, from the likeness of a white cliff at its point to a gable-end. Every day now showed that the natives who came off in their canoes, had heard of what had taken place at Poverty Bay, and were more friendly and more disposed to trade fairly. Kindness and the cannon had done it.

At Tolega Bay, the English gentlemen ventured ashore, taking with them Tupia and Tayeto. Here they had their first close view of the houses and mode of life of the New Zealanders. They entered some of their huts, and saw them at their meals. These huts were very slight, and generally placed ten or fifteen together. They found them generally dining on fish, and eating to it the bruised and roasted roots of fern, the fibres of which some swallowed, but others spit out like quids of tobacco into baskets set beside them for the purpose. This was in October; in the more advanced season, they understood that they had plenty of excellent vegetables, but they saw no animals except dogs, which they understood that they eat like the South Sea Islanders. They visited their gardens, which consisted of from one acre to ten, and altogether in the bay amounted to 150 or 200 acres in extent. They were planted with sweet potatoes, coccos or eddas, such as are used in the East and West Indies, yams and gourds; but few of them were yet above ground. Their plantations were carefully fenced in with reeds.

They found both men and women painted with red

ochre and oil, but the women much the most so; and like the South Sea Islanders they saluted by touching noses. They wore petticoats of a native cloth made from the New Zealand flax, and a sort of cloak or mantle of a much coarser kind. They found them much more modest in manner, and cleanly in their homes than the Otaheiteans. They had places of retirement, and dung hills to which were carried all offal, remains of fish and the like. They bartered their cloth and war-weapons for European cloth, but nails they set no value on, having as yet evidently no knowledge of iron and its uses. What astonished the English greatly was to find boys whipping tops exactly like those of Europe. They visited a hippah on a hill in this bay and there learned the use of the enclosures of pallisadoes, namely, for defence from their enemies, in case of invasion. They also found some houses larger and more strongly built than those on the shore. The men had their faces wonderfully tattooed, and their cheeks cut in spiral lines of great regularity: and many of them had their garments bordered with strips of dog and rat skins, which animals, however, they learnt were very scarce. They measured one canoe, made out of the boles of three trees, which was sixty-eight feet and a half long, five wide, and three high. These, as well as their houses, were much adorned with carvings, in which they seemed to prefer spiral lines and distorted faces: but the work was so well done, that they believed they must have much sharper tools than any that they saw.

Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks found various plants and trees unknown to them. The country abounded with excellent celery: the ridges of the hills produced little except fern, but the sides were clothed with luxuriant woods, in which they found above twenty sorts quite new to them. The tree they cut for firing was something like our maple, and yielded a whitish gum: another was of a deep yellow, which they thought would prove a dye wood. There were numbers of cabbage palms; and the forest abounded with birds of great variety, both in

note and plumage, many very beautiful and very musical. In their walks they came upon a tall cliff, through which was a large opening giving a view of the sea.

In the same manner that they had sailed hither, Cook and his ship's company continued along the south-east coast as far as Mercury Bay, and thence to the Bay of Islands. Everywhere they saw villages along the coast, and everywhere the inhabitants came off in their canoes and uttered defiance to the ship. The New Zealanders displayed the same character that they have done on all occasions, and are doing at this moment in the Maori War, defying any amount of forces, without the least calculation of the relative strength betwixt the two parties—courage without bounds and without reflection. Half a dozen naked men in a crazy canoe would defy a large ship with all its cannon and musketry, even after they had seen their destructive effects. Sometimes they assumed a more friendly aspect, and began to trade; but as soon as they had obtained what they wanted, they refused to give up the equivalent, and laughed at all menace of consequences, till they suffered wounds or death as a punishment, and then the survivors paddled off for the time.

In latitude 37° 59′, longitude 193° 7′, they saw the island Mowtuhora, and on the main land near it, at no great distance from the sea, a high, round mountain, which they named Mount Edgecombe. Soon after they passed a group of islands, which they called the Mayor and Court of Aldermen, when the people sung their song of defiance at the passing vessel. In one place they went ashore, found several new plants, and shot some birds with black plumage and red legs, and saw a battle with lances between two natives, which soon degenerated into a boxing-match. In another place they saw a woman sitting and weeping, and cutting herself on the arms, face, and breast, in lamentation for the death of her husband, who had been killed in an attempt at stealing from the ship. The shores were lined with mangrove trees, and they named a river Mangrove River, and another Oyster River, from the quantity of fine oys-

ters. In another place, after leaving Mercury Bay, they measured a pine-tree, no doubt the famous kauri pine, which was eighty-nine feet to the first branch, as straight as an arrow, and nineteen feet in the girth at six feet above the ground; having, as they calculated, 360 feet of solid timber in it, exclusive of the branches.

Thus, occasionally landing, and occasionally fighting, they advanced to a large bay, lying betwixt latitudes 34° and 35°, which they named the Bay of Islands. Having along the coast to that place, named a river the River Thames; the north-west point on the river, Point Rodney, and the north-east promontory, Cape Colville: six leagues from Cape Colville, a group of islands, Barrier Islands. After this came Bream Bay, Bream Head, the Hen and Chicken Isles, and finally Cape Brett, being the point on the south at the entrance of the bay, and the north point of it, Cape Pococke. This bay abounded with islands, and the people showed themselves audaciously hostile; the same people, in fact, who, in 1772, massacred Captain Marion du Fresne, and some of his crew. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were attacked by them whilst on shore botanizing, and they were obliged to fire on them. They describe the scenery as very beautiful, the land very populous; the people very much addicted to fishing, having enormous nets, and keeping them in heaps, like hay-cocks covered with a thatch, to protect them from the weather. They saw the paper mulberry growing there. The coast abounded with towns and plantations.

From the Bay of Islands, Cook followed the coast to the very northernmost point, or Cape Maria Van Diemen of Tasman, observing and naming on the way, Doubtless Bay, Knuckle Point, Sandy Bay, Mount Carmel, and North Cape. It was now December, 1769, and after sailing to within view of the Three King's Islands, Cook put about and proceeded down the north-west coast of New Zealand to Queen Charlotte's Sound. He must long before this have been certain that it was New Zealand off which he was, though he nowhere says so, till

he remarks, "This must be the Cape Maria Van Diemen of Tasman." On the northern coast of the island Cook seems to have bestowed little attention, naming only Woody Head, in latitude 37° 43′, Gamut Island and Albatross Point, in latitude 38° 4′ S., till he struck the far-projecting promontory which he named Cape Egmont, with its lofty mountain, Mount Egmont.

On the west side of the bay lying under Cape Egmont, as Cook at that moment supposed it, but which was the strait betwixt the two main islands, Cook now took up his station, in a snug cove, and put down a flag-staff, on which he hoisted the Union Jack, and had inscribed on the staff the name of his ship, and the date of its arrival. This flag-staff was erected near the watering-place, and another was erected on the island lying nearest to the sea, and he named the inlet Queen Charlotte's Sound. Here he staid from January 14th, 1770, till February 5th, when he sailed out to ascertain whether this was a bay or a strait. Here Cook and his company learned more of the character and habits of the natives than had yet been possible to them. They found themselves only fifteen miles south of Tasman's Murderers' Bay, yet no one remembered having seen a ship before, or even heard of such a thing; the tradition of Tasman's visit 126 years before having evidently died out. At first the natives appeared inclined to be hostile, but the effect of fire-arms made them think better of it. On going on shore the gentlemen very soon saw indubitable evidences of cannibalism. The people did not attempt to conceal or deny the fact, but asserted that they only eat their enemies, which subsequent information has in the main confirmed.

The bay where they were Captain Cook described as of vast extent, and consisting of numberless small harbours and coves in every direction. The water about four leagues to the other side. The country on both sides was thickly wooded, and so full of bush, that the forest was impenetrable: it was also extremely mountainous, the mountains ascending higher and higher into

the interior. Even near the shore they could find no piece of ground level enough for a potato garden. But the sea abounded with fish, which they caught daily in abundance. The natives had circular nets, held open at the top by hoops; these they baited with sea-ears at the bottom, and after leaving the net in the water some time, they lifted it out with plenty of fish, much after the German fashion. Cook describes the birds as singing early every morning on shore in vast numbers, and with so delightful a melody, that he said he had never heard anything like it. It was like a multitude of small bells most exquisitely tuned. They always began to sing about two hours after midnight, and continued till sunrise, when they became silent for the day.

The people became very friendly, and began to ascertain the value of nails; and the gentlemen purchased, amongst other things, some human bones and human heads, finely tattooed, and preserved by drawing the brains out, as proofs of cannibalism, which many in England were disposed to deny the existence of. They daily collected much wild celery, as an anti-scorbutic. In one place they were astonished to see a wooden cross erected, and adorned with feathers, as a monument of some one deceased. The women also wore tufts of black feathers on their heads. They found that, like the Australians, these people were continually at war with other tribes, and they saw numbers of women sitting on the ground and lamenting, and cutting themselves for their husbands, sons, and brothers, who had been killed and eaten.

Captain Cook ascended a hill, and saw enough to persuade him that they were in the mouth of a strait running between Eaheinomauwe and this part of the country called Tavai-Poenammoo. The rest of the gentlemen did not agree with him, but on the 5th of February he sailed out, after making some inquiries of an old man as to a passage into the eastern seas, which he confirmed. The harbour in which they had lain, he called Ship Cove. They found the tide in this passage rising between seven and eight feet perpendicularly. The narrowest part of the

strait lying between Cape Tierawitte and Cape Koamaroo, he judged to be between four and five leagues wide, and the ebb of the tide carried them through with dangerous rapidity; this fact being before unknown to them, as were the various islands, rocks and reefs, which they had to pass. The southernmost land which they had in sight was a mountain, stupendously lofty, and covered with snow. This proved to be the south-western boundary of the entrance to the strait, and was named by Cook, Cape Campbell; whilst the north-western point he named Cape Palliser; the distance between them being calculated by him to be between thirteen and fourteen leagues. A bay which they passed before reaching Cape Campbell, he named Cloudy Bay.

On reaching the South Sea Cook put about and sailed north-east by east to make sure that, after all, they had passed the strait; for some of the officers contended that it might be only a vast bay, and the land stretch away south-east from between Cape Palliser and Cape Turnagain. He therefore sailed till he sighted Cape Turnagain, when he called the officers and asked them what they thought then. They confessed that Eaheinomauwe was an island, for they had gone completely round it. They now put about again, and went westward, and in the same manner sailed round the two other islands, supposing them to be one. Banks's Peninsula Cook took for an island, seeing, he says, an opening near the south point, which however was merely a bay, and he named it Banks's Island after Mr. Banks. He next named Cape Sanders, and finally rounded the western point of the south island, calling it South Cape. Here again he did not discover the strait between the South and Middle Island, though he named the island north-west of the Cape, Solander's Island, and was near enough to see what he thought a large bay between it and South Cape, which, in reality, was Foveaux Strait. At the south-west point of Middle Island, or Tavi-Poenammoo, he discovered Dusky Bay, Five Fingers' Point, Cape West, and sailed by Rock's Point, to a Bay near Queen Charlotte's Sound, which he

named Admiralty Bay, giving the name of Cape Stephens to the north-west point, and of Cape Jackson to the south-west point.

He had now sailed round the whole of New Zealand, determining its size and general figure, its character and appearance, yet not so minutely as to leave nothing for future explorers. The land everywhere rose at some little distance from the shore into mountains; which appeared totally barren, and they saw no signs of inhabitants. When they had rounded the west end of the islands, the land rose almost perpendicularly from the sea to a stupendous height, the summits of the mountains being covered with snow. About Cape West, on the 17th of March, the valleys as well as the hills were covered with snow. Near the sea were woody hills and valleys, having much appearance of fertility, but further inland a more craggy, rude and desolate coast could not be conceived; for as far inland as the eye could reach there appeared nothing but the summits of rocks, standing so close together, that instead of valleys, there appeared only fissures. On the 31st of March, 1770, Cook sailed from New Zealand in search of Australia, and named the point of land which he last saw, Cape Farewell.

Cook's general opinion of New Zealand was that it was in fact one long chain of mountains, with fertile valleys near the shores, and dense, and in many places, impenetrable woods. The inhabitants he regarded as robust, active, and clever; extremely warlike, but if you once became friendly with them, inclined to be very friendly. Determined cannibals as they were, they had, however, advanced in the arts beyond many other aborigines. Their canoes were often large, well-constructed, and ornamented with open-work carving of considerable excellence. Their war vessels had a high frame-work at the stern of open work, and from it streamed long cords of feathers. Their houses had also much good carving, especially on chests and implements of war, the handles of feather fans and the like. The bodies of both men and women were tattooed, and the faces of chiefs wonderfully scored with

these markings. They made and wore much cloth from the *Phormium tenax*, and the *Morus papyrifera*, both fine and very coarse and shaggy. Of their particular manners, and of the productions of the country, his voyages to these islands furnish ample details, as well as specimens of their language.

Dr. Thomson, in his "Story of New Zealand," says, "Taranga, an inlet on the east coast of the North Island, in the province of Auckland, is still celebrated as the spot were Cook first landed. . . .

"Without measuring the past by the present standard, the savage New Zealanders on several occasions acted as civilized men, and the Christians like savages. For example, Captain Cook left the country without having had one of his men killed or wounded by the natives, while they had to mourn the loss of ten men killed, and many others wounded by the English during this visit.

"Cook's mode of action, and the New Zealanders' style of reasoning are strikingly developed in the following melancholy event. The English part of the story is found in Dr. Hawksworth's 'Narrative of Cook's Voyages;' the native part was furnished by Te Taniwha, a contemporary of Cook, who died in 1853. Lieutenant Gore fired from the ship's deck at a New Zealander in a canoe, who had defrauded him of a piece of calico. In the excitement of paddling to escape, the injury done by the musket was not noticed by the natives in the canoe, although detected by Lieutenant Gore from the ship's deck, as Maru-tu-ahua, the man shot, scarcely altered his position. When the canoe reached the shore the natives found their comrade sitting dead on the stolen calico, which was stained with his life's blood, the ball having entered his back. Several chiefs investigated into the affair, and declared that Maru-tu-ahua deserved his fate; that he stole, and was killed for so doing; and that his life-blood should not be revenged on the strangers. Seeing, however, Maru-tu-ahua had paid for the calico with his life, it was not taken away from him, but was wrapped round his body as a winding-sheet. Sin-

gular to relate, Captain Cook landed soon after the murder, and traded as if nothing had occurred. Would Cook's ship's crew have acted thus if one of them had been slain?"—Vol. i. p. 231.

This account is somewhat unfair to Cook, as the above narrative shows. That the natives killed none of his men on this visit was more owing to the superiority of his arms, than good will towards him. They attacked him on the first landing, and compelled him by their very intense love of thieving, and by actually attempting to kidnap Tupia's boy, to fire on them. They treated Tasman worse. They massacred a number of his men when he was most kindly disposed towards them.

On the 19th of April sighted the south coast of Australia in latitude 38°, and longitude 148° 50′, at a point of land which he named Point Hicks, after the first lieutenant who discovered it. Four leagues more eastward he named another point Ram Head; both of these are well-known localities on the coast of the present Gippsland, in the colony of Victoria. Thence he ran eastward to a point where the coast tended north, and named this Cape Howe. He thought on this, his first view of the great Australian land, "that it had a very pleasing appearance. It is of a moderate height, diversified by hills and valleys, ridges, and plains, interspersed with a few lawns of no great extent, but in general covered with wood. The ascent of the hills and ridges is gentle, and the summits are not high." They saw smoke in several places, and so knew that the country was inhabited.

Cook was the first to give us a chart of the eastern coast of Australia, from Hicks's Point to Torres Straits. It has required considerable correction and completion, the respective latitudes and longitudes more exactly determining, and the whole line of coast more minutely examining, but as a whole it was a great work, and a fine basis for the succeeding labours of Flinders and other navigators and hydrographers.

Between Cape Howe and Sydney Cove he examined

and named Mount and Cape Dromedary, Bateman Bay, Point Upright, Pigeon House, Cape St. George, Long Nose, Red Point, and Botany Bay. He made and noted many soundings, and gave the latitude and longitude, the latitude being generally more correct than the longitude. The distances were all laid down in his chart in leagues, and the variation of the needle recorded.

The first place at which they got an opportunity of landing was at Botany Bay, so called from the variety of new plants and trees that Messrs. Banks and Solander found there. It was in April, an autumnal month of the Australian year; the botanists must have been enchanted at the profusion of flowers, and flowering shrubs, and trees, had it been September. The Banksias, named after Sir Joseph, with their golden bottle bushes and of numerous species, must have struck them with surprise, and they would have found the whole of the sandy heaths around carpeted with bloom, and the shrubs resplendent with blossoms, befitting the most select conservatory. They saw at a distance many trees, which they took for palms, and particularly cabbage palms. Several natives made their appearance, and brandished their weapons in defiance, these weapons being spears and a crooked something like a cimeter—the boomerang. The men were painted with streaks of white, and had their faces dusted with a white powder. These natives came boldly and threw their lances at them by means of their womeras, or throwing sticks, and refused all acquaintance. Notwithstanding, Captain Cook landed with Messrs. Banks, and Solander, and Tupia, but were again attacked by the natives, who were only taught to keep their distance by a discharge or two of small shot; as to all invitations to intercourse, they stoutly rejected them. On one occasion, a midshipman came suddenly in the woods on an old man and woman and some little children, and offered them a parrot that he had shot, but they refused it. Others they saw on the shore striking fish with the spear.

Unlike the Australian natives in general, these had

huts made by bending long poles down at each end into the ground, thus forming a globular abode open at one side for entrance. These were thatched with evergreen leaves, but were so small that only two or three people could lie down in them with their legs close drawn up. At these huts they more than once left presents, but they found them there on the next visit unregarded. They saw the footmarks of what afterwards proved to be the kangaroo, the wild dog, and the wild cat. They found trees cut down by some blunt instrument, and others barked. Of this bark, they found a canoe made by tying up the two ends, and smearing the joints with gum. The middle of the boat was propped open by a stick, and they pronounced it the most wretched thing in the shape of a boat that they had ever seen amongst any aborigines.

The country round was level, low, and sandy, abounding with woods, the trees of which appeared of two kinds, a eucalyptus and a pine, with several kinds of palm. Beneath the trees, there was no brush-wood, but frequently fine turf, and in others tall and huge tufts of grass. They found a fruit something like a cherry, but not possessing much flavour. Farther inland, they discovered open country interspersed with marshes, in some directions shewing fine meadows, in others wild extents of dry moorland. The head of the bay was lined with mangroves, and the birds were very numerous, and of exquisite beauty, especially those of the parrot kind. One they describe, black and white, much larger than a swan, and in shape resembling a pelican. Quails were in thousands. Fish of various kinds was abundant. The natives were quite naked. Such was the first acquaintance of Cook and Banks with Australia.

In proceeding northwards, Cook passed the heads of Port Jackson without entering to explore the interior. Thereby he lost the honour of opening up that splendid bay. He says only that he came abreast of a bay, or harbour, in which there appeared to be good anchorage, and which he named Port Jackson. Proceeding onwards, he named Broken Bay, Cape Three Points, Point and

Port Stephens, Cape Hawke, the Three Brothers, and Smoky Cape, with no remarks of particular interest. Arriving in latitude 30° 22′, he says that the land gradually increased in height; that between that latitude and Botany Bay the land exhibited pleasing features, hills, vallies, plains, all clothed with wood. The shores low and sandy; more backward, rocky hills, looking like islands. In that latitude, they had also small rocky islands. They saw smoke in many places, and occasionally natives. At Cape Byron, they found themselves carried insensibly back by a current, and Mount Warning and Point Danger they named on account of shoals and breakers. They next came to Point Look-out, so named also from breakers ahead, and on approaching it saw a wide open bay, which they named Moreton's Bay, in the bottom of which the land was so low that Cook could but just see it from the top-mast; the north point of the bay he named Cape Moreton. The wind did not permit him to enter the bay. He next named Glasshouse Bay, and the Glasshouses, hills shaped like glasshouses, Double Island Point, Indian Head, Wide Bay, and Sandy Cape. The islands here, including Great Sandy Island, Cook, in sailing past, took for points of land. Sandy Cape he placed in latitude 24° 45′, and says it is high enough to be seen at the distance of twelve leagues in clear weather.

Here they found the land rapidly trending westward. A great shoal ran far out from Sandy Cape, which they named Break Sea Spit. Cook crossed the shoal at eight leagues from Sandy Cape. Passing a large bay, which they named Hervey's Bay, they came to anchor in another bay, in latitude 24° 19′, which they named Bustard Bay, from killing a fine bustard there, commonly known in Australia as the wild turkey. Near the sea the land was low, but showing lofty hills further inland covered with woods. Captain Cook landed with Messrs. Banks and Solander, the other gentlemen, and Tupia. They soon found themselves amongst bogs and salt-water lagoons, where grew the true mangroves, the first Cook

had seen since he was in the West Indies. On the branches of these mangroves, there were numbers of the nests of the same green ants that Leichhardt afterwards noticed, which, if you stirred the trees, dropped down in legions, and stung you unmercifully. Also on the mangrove leaves, were small green caterpillars, ranged close side by side, and the hairs of which stung like nettles. They observed new kinds of eucalyptus, one with leaves which drooped like those of weeping willows, and different acacias yielding gum. They saw the same birds larger than swans, which they had seen at Botany Bay, probably native companions. Natives were seen about who avoided them, and they came upon a native camp, where they saw several rude vessels of bark, and pieces of bark lying on the ground, the length of a man, which they imagined that they slept on; on the wind side of the fires, a small screen of green boughs, about a foot and a half high, and that was all their dwelling-place. Even Tupia shook his head with an air of superiority, and said, "Poor wretches!"

They now followed the shore without much adventure, past various bays and capes, all rapidly trending westward, and along shores studded with islands. These they named Cape Capricorn, Keppel Bay, Keppel's Islands, Cape Manifold, and Cape Townshend. On rounding Cape Townshend, they came into a vast bay abounding with islands, which they named Northumberland Isles. The bay they called the Bay of Inlets, and another extensive group of islands on its northern extremity the Cumberland Islands. Into the depth of this bay they steered, and lay to in an inlet betwixt islands, which they called Thirsty Sound, because they could find no fresh water. The northern point of this bay they named Cape Palmerston.

Penetrating into the land here, they found deep swamps and farther off hills; but they also made acquaintance with various Australian things. They found their clothes penetrated by the sharp grass seeds so familiar to Australians; they found on the branches of gum trees

ants' nests of clay, as large as bushels, the abode of white ants, very different to the white ants of the Indies; for these were sluggish and not much more active than maggots. Besides these were myriads of small black ants, which eat into the centre of young trees, and devouring the pith, ascend into their topmost twigs, leaving all hollow. There were also myriads of butterflies, and a species of fish hopping about on land. It was about the size of a minnow, having two strong breast fins with which it leapt along. They put some of them into the water, but there they preferred to hop from projecting stone to stone, to immersing themselves in the water. They also found the needle of the compass performing variations very strange, even differing from itself as they went from place to place. They picked up different stones to observe whether they affected the needle, but they did not, and they concluded that the influence was collectively in the hills.

From this place to Trinity Bay, they named Cape Hillsborough, Repulse Bay, Cape Conway, Whitsunday Passage, Cape Gloucester, Edgcombe Bay and Holborn Isle, Mount Upstart, Cape and Bay of Cleveland, Halifax Bay, with the Palm and Magnetical Islands at its mouth, Point Hillock and Cape Sandwich, Rockingham Bay, Double Point and Cape Grafton, with various islands. "Hitherto," says Cook, "we had navigated this dangerous coast, where the sea in all parts contains shoals, that suddenly project from the shore, and rocks that rise abruptly like pyramids from the bottom, for an extent of two-and-twenty degrees of latitude, more than a thousand three hundred miles, and therefore hitherto none of the names given by us are memorials of distress; but here we became acquainted with misfortune, and though we named the bay discovered on Trinity Sunday Trinity Bay, we called the northern point of it Cape Tribulation."

Here, indeed, they ran the ship on a coral reef, and she did not float off till ten o'clock on Monday night. Her bottom was so much damaged that they must have speedily sunk, in spite of all that the pumps could do,

had they not managed to haul under the ship a studding sail charged with oakum, wool, and other things, which did wonders, and enabled them to reach a river, which they thence named the Endeavour River, a few leagues to the north, where they ran her high enough to lay her on her side, having first taken down her fore-yard, fore-top-masts, and booms. They then got out her stores, and made an enclosure for their preservation from the weather; then got out her coals and ballast, erected their tents on shore, and the carpenters went to work on her. All were amazed when they saw the hole that had been cut into her, and that they had only been saved by a mass of the rock having given way, and remained stuck fast in the opening.

From this time, June 21st to July 5th, was required for the repair of the ship; and what with getting her reloaded and then by reason of contrary winds, it was not till the 4th of August that they were able to resume their voyage—a delay of upwards of six weeks. They were lying all this time in the latitude of Quiros's land of Experito Santo, which he fancied was part of Australia, but which, the New Hebrides, lay more than a thousand miles eastward of them.

During this long sojourn here, the gentlemen of the ship made many excursions into the country, and became possessed of several new experiences. The country around was a pleasant one of hills, valleys, and woods. They obtained from the sea abundance of fish, and from the shore admirable green turtle. In the country they gathered a kind of wild spinage, which was excellent when boiled. They saw three kinds of palm-trees; gathered the cabbages of the cabbage-palm, of two kinds, and also the fruit of one that was poisonous. This last they found only in the northern parts. It was seldom more than ten feet high, with small pinnated leaves resembling some kind of fern. It bore no cabbage, but a plentiful crop of nuts, about the size of a large chesnut, but rounder. As they found the shells of these nuts around the fire-places of the natives, they took it for

granted that they eat them; but those who partook of them amongst their company found them violently emetic and cathartic; and pigs to which they were given, though not immediately affected, were so in about a week, and two of them died. They supposed the natives had some means of getting rid of the poison, as is done by the cassava of the West Indies by washing and drying. They found the fruit of a wild plantain, but too full of stones to be very eatable; and also a fruit of the size of a golden pippin, of a deep purple colour, hard when gathered, but becoming in a few days soft, and in taste like an indifferent damson. They saw straw-coloured wild dogs, and at last shot some of the tall, jumping animals which they found the natives called kangaroos. The flesh proved delicious. Mr. Banks endeavoured to catch them with his greyhounds, but these were quickly left behind. They saw bats as large as partridges; killed an opossum; and the botanists discovered some new plants, amongst them the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. Amongst the birds were cockatoos, black ones and white ones, numbers of crows, parrots, whistling ducks that sate on trees, curlews, and wild geese. They also made a more familiar acquaintance with the natives, who went quite nude, and did not knock out any of their front teeth, and still despised their presents of nails, beads, and clothes. On offending them they also were taught a characteristic practice of the natives, for they seized firebrands and set fire to the grass, to the windward of their ship and stores, by which they were in danger of having all destroyed. Having failed to burn the ship stores and tackle, they set the woods on fire all round, and were only driven off by firing at them.

From Endeavour River Cook's voyage to Torres Straits was made in a crazy vessel, for, after all its repairs, the ship was found leaky, and the pumps were rotten. Once out of the entangling shoals and reefs, they proceeded cautiously, noting the direction of the coast, the islands, and the soundings. It is not, therefore, necessary, to do more than name the bays, capes,

and islands to which they gave appellations. Passing Cape Flattery, they steered amongst some islands, which Cook named the Islands of Direction, the largest of which they called Lizard Island. On another they found one of those enormous nests on the ground mentioned by Dampier and Flinders, though no one ever saw the birds which built them. This was six-and-twenty feet in circumference, and two feet eight inches high, built with sticks. Amongst subsequent speculations regarding these enormous nests, it was suggested by Professor Hitchcock whether they might not belong to the Dinornis, or Moa, the bones of which have been found both in Victoria and in New Zealand, but Mr. Ronald Gunn, the able naturalist of Tasmania, has ascribed them to the Australian sea eagle, Ichthyœtus leucogaster.

Once clear of Lizard Island, Cook managed to get across an enormous coral reef, which runs at some little distance from the coast for several hundred miles, but the heavy seas from the east made him, in his crazy ship, glad to get once more inside of it. He effected this recrossing at an opening in the reef, which he named Providential Channel, about twenty leagues south of Cape Weymouth. This part of the voyage was performed at such a distance that Cook could make no accurate survey of the coast, and had merely traced there a dotted line. He had now constantly to steer his way amongst isles and shoals. Amongst these the chief were Forbes's, Hardy's, and Cockburn's Isles, lying at various distances off the coast opposite to Bolt Head, Temple Bay, and Cape Grenville, as named by him. Off Cape Grenville he named the islands the Bird Islands. Going onward he named Shelburne Bay, Orford Ness, and Newcastle Bay, and now in latitude 10° 47′, as calculated by him; he reached the northernmost point of Australia, and named it Cape York. This is a fact of such great importance in the history of Australian discovery, that I shall give it in Cook's own words:—

"We saw that the northernmost land, which we had

taken for the main, was detached from it, and that we might pass between them by running to leeward of the shoals on our larboard bow. * * * We had a strong flood, which carried us on east very fast. * * * The point of the main, which forms the side of the channel through which we passed, opposite to the island, is the northern promontory of the country, and I called it York Cape. Its longitude is 218° 24′ west; the latitude of the north point is 10° 37′, and of the east point 10° 41′, south. The land over the east point, and to the southward of it, is rather low, and as far as the eye can reach, very flat, and of a barren appearance. To the southward of the cape the shore forms a large open bay, which I call Newcastle Bay, and in which are some low islands and shoals; the land adjacent is also very low, flat, and sandy. The land of the northern part of the cape is more hilly, the vallies seem to be well clothed with wood, and the shore forms some small bays, in which there appeared to be good anchorage. Close to the eastern point of the cape are three small islands, from one of which a small ledge of rocks runs out into the sea; there is also an island close to the northern point. The island that forms the strait or channel through which we had passed, lies about four miles without these, which, except two, are very small; the southernmost is the largest, and much higher than any part of the main land. On the north-west side of this island there appeared to be good anchorage, and on shore valleys that promised both wood and water. These islands are distinguished in the chart by the name of York Isles. To the southward and south-east, and even to the eastward and northward of them, there are several other low islands, rocks, and shoals; our depth of water in sailing between them and the main was twelve, thirteen, and fourteen fathoms."

After proceeding about four miles, they found it necessary to leave the channel by the main land, and take one between the islands, the next channel to the northwards. At five o'clock they anchored at about two miles within

the channel, off the island which lies to the south-east point of the channel. On this island Cook landed with Banks and Solander, and a party of men. They saw ten natives on a hill, nine armed with lances, and the tenth with a bow and arrows, the last being weapons which they had never seen in the hands of Australian natives before. Like the natives of the north-west, mentioned by Tasman, they had no doubt borrowed them from the natives of New Guinea.

"We climbed," says Cook, "the highest hill, which was not more than three times as high as the mast head, and the most barren of any we had seen. From this hill no land could be seen between the south-west and the west-south-west, so that I had no doubt of finding a channel through. The land to the north-west of it consisted of a great number of islands of various extent, and different heights, ranged one behind another, as far to the northward and westward as I could see, which could not be less than thirteen leagues. As I now was about to quit the eastern coast of New Holland, which I had coasted from latitude 38° to this place, *and which I am confident no European had ever been before*, I once more hoisted English colours, and though I had already taken possession of several particular parts, I now took possession of the whole eastern coast, from latitude 38° to this place, latitude 10½° S., in right of His Majesty King George III., by the name of NEW SOUTH WALES, with all the bays, rivers, and islands situated upon it. We then fired three volleys of small arms, which were answered by the same number from the ship. Having performed this ceremony upon the island, which we called POSSESSION ISLAND, we re-embarked in our boat, but a rapid ebb setting N.E., made our return to the vessel very difficult."—*Cook's First Voyage round the World*, by Hawksworth, vol. iii., p. 616.

There are two things in this statement worthy of remark. The number of islands crowding Torres Straits, one behind another, sufficiently explains how the captain of Tasman's yacht, the Limmen, came to suppose these to be continuous land, and that there was no passage.

But still more important is the assertion of Cook, that he is confident that no European had ever been on this eastern coast before. We have seen that in an old map in the British Museum, which was presented to the museum by Sir Joseph Banks, and supposed to be of the date of Francis I., of France; there was a general, though very inaccurate tracing of this coast, and various names having a similarity to those imposed by Cook. On this plea Dalrymple, the well-known hydrographist to the Admiralty, and author of various voyages and travels, charged Cook with being acquainted with this map before his own voyage. The assertion of Cook, that he confidently believed that no person had ever before him been on this coast, will, with every candid mind, be a sufficient assurance, that whoever *had* ever been on this coast before, Cook neither knew of that fact, nor of the existence of this map. Proceeding westward, Cook sailed along the channel, thence named Endeavour Straits, between the main land on the left, and the islands which he named the Prince of Wales's Islands, the most south-westerly point of which he named Cape Cornwall. Some low islands off the north-western point of Cape York, he named Wallis's Islands. On one of the smallest of these, which he called Booby Island, because it was a great haunt of those birds, he and Mr. Banks landed, and from the open sea westward now felt assured that they had passed the straits on the northernmost point of Australia. The length of these—Endeavour Straits—he calculated at ten leagues, and their breadth five leagues, except at the north-east entrance where, contracted by the islands, it is only about two miles.

From this point Cook abandoned further exploration of the coast of Australia. He held north-eastward along the shores of New Guinea, intending to make his way to Batavia, and thence home by the Cape of Good Hope. At about sixty-five leagues north-east of Cape Walsh, where, like all other navigators, they found the natives prepared to repel them, they were at first inclined to believe that they had fire-arms, as they saw them make

sudden flashes of light in their ranks; but they discovered that these lights were flung from short pieces of cane. With Cook's exit from the Australian shores, however, ceases our present concern with him. He had done a magnificent work in his careful delineation of the great eastern coast, with all its capes, bays, islands, shoals, reefs, currents, winds, and depths of water, which are left recorded in his narrative, or marked on his chart. These have since been tested, and many of them corrected by a closer and more leisurely examination than Cook could give, by Captain Flinders; but our great circumnavigator had done a great work, and made the path of future navigators in that track comparatively easy. He had for the first time made the passage of Torres Straits, knowing that he was doing so. Torres, and perhaps others before him, made that passage, unaware of what they had accomplished. Cook knew what he had done, that he had put the separation between New Guinea and Australia beyond question, and so clearly recorded the fact, that the knowledge of it could not be lost again. Before quitting the shores of his New South Wales, he made a summary of his observations on the country. Most of these we have anticipated, but there are a few of his remarks that yet require to be added.

"To the southward of 33° and 34°, the land in general is low and level; farther northward it is hilly, but in no part can be called mountainous; and the hills and mountains taken together, make but a small part of the surface, in comparison with the valleys and plains. It is upon the whole rather barren than fertile, yet the rising ground is chequered by woods and lawns, and the plains and valleys are in many places covered with herbage; the soil, however, is frequently sandy, and many of the lawns or savannahs are rocky and barren, especially to the northward, where in the best spots, vegetation was less vigorous than in the southern part of the country; the trees were not so tall, nor was the herbage so rich. The grass in general is high, but thin, and the trees, where they are largest, are seldom less than forty feet

asunder; nor is the country inland, as far as we could examine it, better clothed than the sea coast. * * * The soil in some parts seemed to be capable of improvement, but the far greater part is such as can admit of no cultivation. The coast, at least that part which lies to the northward of 25° S., abounds with fine bays and harbours, where vessels may lie in perfect security from all winds."

He adds, that the country appeared well watered, for though it was the dry season, he found innumerable small brooks and springs, but no great rivers, and he naturally supposed that these brooks became large in the rainy season.

Most of these observations are strikingly just; such of them as are not, subsequent and fuller knowledge of the country has corrected. He noticed several kinds of serpents, some noxious, some harmless; scorpions, centipedes, and lizards. The sea round the country he found far more liberal of food than the country; but he did not, and, indeed, in his hasty, coast view, could not perceive how prolific of all the elements of life it would become under the hand of civilized man. He saw but a very scanty sprinkling of population anywhere, and inferred that the same would prove the case in the interior. Whilst the canoes of the natives in the south were the miserable vehicles of bark already described, in the north he found them made of hollowed trunks of trees, about fourteen feet long, and fitted with an out-rigger, to prevent them upsetting. Cook and his friends were greatly puzzled to imagine how, with a wretched stone adze, a wooden mallet, and some shells and fragments of coral, they could fashion these boats. He inferred, from the almost total absence of the mechanic art on the coast, that there could be little civilization in the island, and time has shown that his inferences were sound.

CHAPTER V.

VISITS OF CAPTAINS DE SURVILLE, ST. ALOUARN, AND MARION DU FRESNE, TO AUSTRALIA, VAN DIEMEN'S LAND, AND NEW ZEALAND, IN 1796 AND 1772.

De Surville and Cook crossed at the mouth of Doubtless Bay, New Zealand, without seeing each other.—De Surville's treachery to the natives.—Carried off one, who pined and died.—De Surville drowned at Callas.—St. Alouarn's visit.—Marion du Fresne massacred with a number of his men.—The French version of the affair.—The native version of it.

De Surville was the next navigator who visited New Zealand. When Cook's ship, the Endeavour, was working out of Doubtless Bay in the North Island, De Surville's vessel, the St. Jean Baptiste from India, was sailing on, and neither navigator was aware of the other's vicinity.

What led to this Frenchman's visit was a rumour, widely circulated and universally believed, that the English had discovered an island of gold in the Southern Ocean. De Surville anchored his ship in Doubtless Bay in December, 1769, and immediately landed at Mongonia, and was received by crowds of natives, who were delighted and surprised at the confidence reposed in them, and, in return, they supplied the strangers with food and water. One day a storm arose as a party of invalids were endeavouring to reach the ship from the shore. Being driven back, the sick were detained by the inclemency of the weather for two days in the house of a chief named Naginoui, and by his people they were fed and carefully attended without remuneration. When the storm subsided, one of the ship's boats was missing, and De Surville, without any evidence for so doing, believed that the New Zealanders had stolen it. Under the guise of friendship, he invited Naginoui on board, accused him of the theft, and put him in irons. Not satisfied with this treacherous revenge, he burned the

village where his sick had found an asylum in the hour of need, and carried the chief away from his native land.

Naginoui did not survive his capture long; he pined for fern-root, wept that he would never again behold his children, and died of a broken heart eighty days after his seizure. Men's evil deeds are occasionally punished in this world, and so were De Surville's; for eleven days after Naginoui's death, he was drowned in the surf when landing at Callao, in Peru.—Abbé Rochon's Voyages, 1791.

Amongst all nations crime begets crime, and retaliation, not forgiveness, is the ruling principle in the human breast. Three years after Naginoui's capture, and not far from the scene of it, Marion du Fresne landed in New Zealand. It was on the 11th of May, 1772, that this unfortunate man anchored his two ships between Te Wai-iti Whais Island and the Motu Arobia (the Motuaro of navigators), in the Bay of Islands, vol. i. p. 233.

Of the visit of St. Alouarn to the western coast of Australia, nothing seems to be known, except that he saw some points of land, or islands, on a voyage in the French flüte *Le Gros Ventre*, in 1772.

Of Marion's voyage more is known, though it added little or no new information to that of previous navigators. He sailed in the *Mascarin*, accompanied by the *Marquis de Castries*, from the Mauritius early in the year 1772, chiefly in search of the supposed southern continent, and arrived off the west coast of Van Diemen's Land on the 3rd of March, of that year, being the first who visited Tasmania after Tasman. He saw an opening leading to the northward, which was probably Bass's Straits, but gave it only a passing notice. Steering south-east and then northward, he passed round all the rocks and islands of the south coast till he reached the Frederick Hendrik's Bay of Tasman. He saw fires and smoke on land, and soon had about thirty men on the shore looking at the ships. On a party landing, the natives received them in a friendly manner, and presented them with a lighted stick, and pointed to a pile of dry

wood, as though they expected them to set fire to it as a token of friendship. They complied, and the natives appeared satisfied. Soon after, Captain Marion himself going on shore, the same ceremony took place; but the moment the pile began to blaze, the natives all retreated precipitately to a little hill near, and thence discharged at them a shower of stones. Both Captain Marion and the commander of the De Castries were wounded. It does not appear how the first act should be taken as a matter of friendship, and the second, precisely the same, as one of hostility; but the French, incensed at their treatment, fired on the natives in return, and then open war began. The excited natives sent the women and children into the woods, and assailed the French with their lances. Proceeding along the shore to their boats, the French were fiercely pursued, and a black servant wounded in the leg with a spear. On this, the French fired more determinedly on the natives, killing one of them, and wounding several others. The natives, terrified at this, fled, carrying the wounded with them, and retreated into the woods with wild howlings. A detachment of fifteen men, armed with musquets, was despatched after them, who only came up with one who was dying in the forest.

Before this misunderstanding, the natives had appeared very friendly, but did not set any value on the nails, little looking-glasses, and other things that they offered them. After the affray, it was necessary to send such parties as had to seek water on shore well armed. The descriptions of the country, and the people, and their habits, are exactly those of other navigators. Marion, not succeeding in procuring water, or conciliating the natives, sailed away from Van Diemen's Land on the 10th of March, and directed his course towards New Zealand, where, on arriving in the Bay of Islands, he was massacred by the natives. Various versions of this tragical event have been given. The one detailed in the account of his voyage, published in Paris in 1783, as given by Crozet, the captain of the Mascarin, is as fol-

lows:—"His masts being damaged, and not being able to find any trees in Van Diemen's Land suitable for making new ones, he looked out for them here. He found excellent pines, but at such a distance from the shore that he was obliged to cut a road through the dense woods for three miles. The natives appeared on the best terms with them, and Marion had one party of his men on an island in the bay cleaning the casks preparatory to refilling them with fresh water. Another party was in the wood cutting down the trees. After thirty-three days of peaceful intercourse, Captain Marion is represented as setting out one evening to visit his different parties at their work. He had been to the waterers on the island, and had gone to a hippah of the natives on a hill, where he was accustomed to call on his way into the woods, where Captain Crozet was superintending the operations of the wood-cutters. Here, it is said, that he was suddenly and unexpectedly set upon and murdered together with his few attendants and the boats' crew awaiting him on shore. The alarm was given to Captain Crozet in the wood, who managed to get on board with all his people safe, but had scarcely pushed off from the shore when a host of natives set up their song of defiance, and discharged vollies of stones at them. An attack was then planned against the waterers on the island by night, but was defeated. This having failed, a hundred large canoes openly attacked the ships themselves, and paid dearly for their temerity. As it was impossible to procure the necessary timber without driving the hostile natives from the neighbourhood, Captain Crozet determined to attack and destroy their hippah. The natives boasted that he would find it impregnable, but he soon carried it, killing many of them and putting the rest to flight. After this he completed his operations in peace, and, after an abode of sixty-four days in the Bay of Islands, sailed thence for the South Sea Islands."

Here we have the narrative of the massacre of Marion and a boat's crew of his men as given by Crozet, Marion's

second in command; but Dr. Thomson, in his "Story of New Zealand," gives us the New Zealanders' version of this affair:—

"Crozet in his narrative repeatedly states that the French gave no cause of offence—that up to the fatal day nothing could exceed the apparent harmony in which both races lived. 'They treated us,' says Crozet, 'with every show of friendship for thirty-three days with the intention of eating us the thirty-fourth.' Such is the French account of Marion's massacre; the native version of the affair I accidentally heard on a singular occasion. During the winter quarter of 1851, the French corvette L'Alcméne, thirty-two guns, commander Count D'Harcourt, was totally wrecked, and ten lives lost on the west coast of New Zealand, the opposite side of the island, but only fifty miles distant from the place of Marion's massacre. As several men were severely wounded when the ship foundered, the governor requested me to go and assist their transit across the country to Auckland. When so employed, I awoke one night, and saw a crowd of New Zealanders talking earnestly round a fire. There were upwards of a hundred French sailors, and nearly two hundred natives, plunged in sleep in the open air all about. Hearing the name of Marion mentioned, I pretended sleep, and listened to the conversation. From many words, I gathered that two vessels commanded by Marion, belonging to the same nation as the shipwrecked sailors, visited the Bay of Islands, and that a strong friendship sprung up between both races, and that they planted the garlic which flavours the milk, butter, and flesh of cows fed in that district. Before the Wiwis, as the French are now called, departed, they violated sacre places, cooked food with tapued wood, and put two chiefs in irons; that in revenge their ancestors killed Marion, and several of his crew, and in the same spirit the French burned villages, and shot many New Zealanders.

"From inquiries made on the spot in 1853, the above narrative and the reasons assigned for Marion's murder

are, I believe, correct. No man was then alive at the Bay of Islands who had witnessed the affair, and only two old men were acquainted with the particulars of it, although his name was familiar to all. According to the native story, the French, not they, were the aggressors. 'We treated Marion's party,' the New Zealanders may say, 'with every kindness for thirty days, and on the thirty-first they put two of our chiefs in irons, and burnt our sacred places.'

"Civilized men, who judge savage races by civil laws, may deem the native cause assigned for Marion's massacre frivolous; but those acquainted with the ancient customs of the New Zealanders must admit that violating sacred places and enslaving sacred chiefs are ample provocations for strife. The circumstance related of the natives having ceased visiting the ships before Marion's massacre, was a sure sign of hostility. It also affords an evident proof that the whole tale is not told, and that Crozet's narrative is garbled."—Vol. i. p. 236.

CHAPTER VI.

THE VOYAGE OF COOK AND FURNEAUX, JANUARY, 1772 TO 1774, IN WHICH COOK REPEATEDLY VISITED NEW ZEALAND, AND CAPTAIN FURNEAUX VISITED NEW ZEALAND AND VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

The search for the extreme continent of the south.—Not to be found.—Cook reaches New Zealand. — Furneaux missing. — Found at Queen Charlotte's Sound.—Furneaux's adventures in Van Diemen's Land.—Supposed, but incorrectly, to have seen Australia.—Attempt of Maories to seize Furneaux's ship.—Furneaux prevents Cook ascertaining the insularity of Van Diemen's Land.—The commander planted garden-seeds, and put on shore goats and pigs at Queen Charlotte's Sound.—Voyage to the South Sea Islands, and return to New Zealand.—Furneaux lost sight of for the rest of the voyage.—Cook puts on shore fresh fowls, goats, and hogs.—Sailed and discovered New Caledonia, Norfolk Island, and other Islands.—Returned to New Zealand.—Puts more hogs and fowls on shore.—Furneaux arrived in Queen Charlotte's Sound.—Massacre of his boat's crew.—CAPTAIN COOK'S LAST VOYAGE.—Cook, Clarke, and King's voyages, between 1776 and 1780, in the Resolution and Discovery.—The objects of Cook's last voyage.—Attempts to find a north-west passage.—Prince Edward's Island. — Van Diemen's Land. — Adventure Bay. — The natives.—Again at Queen Charlotte's Sound.—Natives crowd there.—Visited by Kahoora who headed the massacre of Furneaux's crew.—Different versions of the account of the massacre.—Account of the natives.—Natural productions.—Cook killed at Owhyhee.

THIS voyage was ordered for the prosecution of discoveries in high southern latitudes, to determine the question of the long asserted continent in the extreme south. M. Bouvet had reported a certain Cape Circumcision, lying in south latitude 54°, and in east longitude 11° 20′. Cook was furnished with two ships, the Resolution and the Adventure. Of the latter vessel, Captain Furneaux was appointed commander; and they had two astronomers, Mr. Wales and Mr. Bayley. Having made their explorations round the antarctic circle, they were to return to Spithead by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and they had each of them instructions in case of the ships being separated, to make rendezvous, in the first place, at Madeira, in the second, at Port Praya, thirdly, at the Cape of Good Hope, and fourthly, in New Zealand.

In this voyage, they employed the new mode of calculating the longitude east and west, to the 180° from the meridian of Greenwich. The two vessels set sail from Plymouth Sound, on Monday the 13th of July, 1772. Having reached the quarter where the asserted Cape Circumcision should lie, they sailed about in vain seeking it, and advanced into the Antarctic circle, finding much ice, but no land. There in thick fogs the two ships lost each other, and, therefore, made for their appointed place of rendezvous in Dusky Bay, New Zealand.

Captain Cook anchored in Dusky Bay, on the 26th of March, 1773, and remained there till the 27th of April. As this visit added nothing to discovery, we need not enter into its details, further than that Cook left on shore, five geese and a gander, which he had brought from the Cape of Good Hope; and that amongst the birds which they met with, ducks, wood-hens, and other wild-fowl, they were greatly charmed with a bird about the size of an English black-bird, with feathers of a fine mazarine blue, except on the neck, where they are silver grey. This bird they called the Wattle-bird, and also the Poy-bird, from its having little tufts of curled hair under its throat, which they called poies, from the Otaheitan word for ear-rings. The sweetness of this bird's note they described as extraordinary, and that its flesh was delicious, but that it was a shame to kill it.

Setting sail from Dusky Bay, on the 18th of May, they entered Queen Charlotte's Sound, where they fortunately met with Captain Furneaux. On his voyage thither, Captain Furneaux had made Van Diemen's Land. On the 9th of March, exactly a year after Marion's departure, he found himself in 43° 16′ south latitude, and 147° east longitude, off a cape, which proved to be the South Cape of Tasman, about four leagues E.S.E. half E. from which lay three islands, and several rocks, resembling the Mewstone, one of which they thus named. These rocks and islands had not been named by Tasman. They found the shore high and rocky, plenty of water falling from the rocks in

beautiful cascades, two or three hundred feet perpendicular, into the sea. They landed from a boat, and found the country rich in soil, and finely wooded, but could see no people, but tracks of them. As there was no anchorage, they sailed into Frederick Hendrick's Bay. They eventually anchored in Adventure Bay, which they so named after their ship, having, as they imagined, Maria Island in view about five or six leagues off. They lay in this bay only five days, and added little or nothing to discovery. They never saw the natives, but observed the smoke of their fires eight or ten miles to the northward. They, however, found some of their deserted huts, constructed of boughs, stuck with the thick ends in the ground, tied together at the top with grass, then covered with fern or bark. The whole wigwam had a circular form. In the middle of each wigwam was the fire-place surrounded by heaps of muscle and other shells. There were also in them some of their spears, mere pointed sticks, some baskets, and nets of grass, and dry grass on the floor, on which the natives appeared to sleep. On the whole, Captain Furneaux concluded that they were "an ignorant, wretched set of mortals, though natives of a country capable of producing every necessary of life, in a climate, the finest in the world."

On leaving the bay, they stood northward, passed Maria Island, and Schoutens', and reached the islands now named after Captain Furneaux. Here, he observes, "in 40° 50′ S., the land trends to the westward, and from this latitude to 39° 50′, is nothing but shoals and islands, the land appearing high, rocky, and barren." Here Furneaux was on the very point of making a great discovery — that of the strait cutting off Tasmania from Australia, but he made a greater one still, "that there are no straits between New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, but a very deep bay." Truly a very deep bay indeed, having no bottom! The straits were reserved for the enterprise of Bass and Flinders. "We now stood," says Furneaux, "to the northward, and again made land in 39°, but soon after discontinued this

course, to fall in with the shore being very dangerous."

Here, unknown to himself, Furneaux was long supposed to have struck the south-eastern coast of Australia; but Flinders afterwards demonstrated that from his latitude, he was far short of the mainland in a northerly direction, and that he only saw one of the most northern of Furneaux's Islands. Flinders corrected other mistakes of Furneaux, regarding Van Diemen's Land. He says:—"Captain Furneaux here mistook the Storm and Frederick Hendrik's Bay of Tasman; and he has been followed in this error by the succeeding navigators of the same nation, which has created not a little confusion in the geography of this part of the world.

"The bay supposed to have been Storm Bay has no name in Tasman's chart, though the particular plan shows that he noticed it, as did Marion more distinctly. The rocks marked at the east point of this bay, and called the Friars, are the Boreels Eylanden of Tasman; and the true Storm Bay is the deep inlet, of which Adventure Bay is a cove. Frederick Hendrik's Bay is not within this inlet, but lies to the north-eastward, on the outerside of the land which Captain Furneaux, in consequence of his first mistake, took to be Maria's Island, but which is, in fact, a part of the mainland. All this is evident, from a close comparison of the form of the land in the two charts, and is corroborated by the difference of longitude from the Mewstone. Adventure Bay proved to be a valuable discovery, being a good and well sheltered anchorage, where wood and water were abundant." Flinders' Voyages, Vol. i. Introduction, p. lxxxviii.

Stormy weather induced Furneaux to quit the shores of Van Diemen's Land, and make the best of his way to New Zealand, which he reached in fourteen days. On Tuesday, the 6th of April, he had anchored in Ship Cove, where Captain Cook found him on the 17th of May. Before the arrival of Cook, Furneaux and his people had opened friendly relations with the natives, and exchanged nails and bottles for their implements of

war. The officers having a catalogue of New Zealand words, named several things from it, which greatly astonished them, and they offered a quantity of fish for the catalogue. They saw plenty of proofs of cannibalism amongst the natives, who inquired where Tupia was, and when they were assured that he was dead, they wanted to know if the English had eaten him. Soon after this, there was an attempt by a crowd of people in boats, to seize the ship, and they were only deterred by a cannon being fired over their heads.

The Adventure having arrived, Captain Cook announced his intention to proceed to Van Diemen's Land, to ascertain, in pursuance of his orders, whether that country made a part of New Holland, but as Furneaux assured him that he had settled that point, Cook abandoned the design, and thus Furneaux was doubly the cause of the non-discovery of Bass's Straits. Cook and Furneaux sowed garden-seeds, and planted potatoes, and showed them to the natives, that they might value and cultivate them; they also put on shore, a male and female goat, a boar and two breeding sows, in the hope that they might escape and multiply in the woods, a very doubtful experiment. Having procured plenty of celery, scurvy-grass, etc., for the crews, and held much friendly intercourse with the natives, the two vessels sailed on the 7th of June for Otaheite.

They visited various places in the South Seas, and in October, Cook and Furneaux returned towards New Zealand, and Cook arrived at Table Cape, on the 21st of that month, but the Adventure had fallen behind, and did not join the Resolution again during the voyage. Here Cook put on shore two sows, two boars, four hens and two cocks; placing them under the care of a chief, and giving him several sorts of garden-seeds, with instructions how to sow and cultivate them. Thence he sailed to Queen Charlotte's Sound, and caught a glimpse of the Adventure, but lost her again. In Ship Cove, Cook found that old Gobiah, to whom he had on his last visit given two goats to breed from, had killed and eaten

them, but the garden vegetables had flourished wonderfully. He again ventured to put on shore another boar and sow, two cocks and four hens. Again, in a few days, he had a boar and three sows, together with cocks and hens, taken some distance into the woods, in the hope that they might escape the natives, until they had bred. On the 24th of November, Cook quitted Queen Charlotte's Sound, and on the 26th, after in vain having sought for the Adventure in different harbours, he left New Zealand, and proceeded to execute the other objects of his voyage. After the discovery of New Caledonia, Norfolk Island, and other Islands, Cook again returned to New Zealand, and once more anchored in Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte's Sound, on the 18th of October, 1774. He remained only to caulk his ship, and inquire after the Adventure, and sailed away again on the 10th of November, for further researches in the higher latitudes of the south, and thence to England. During this short stay, the natives told them that the Adventure had arrived there a little after their departure, staid about twenty days, and had been gone ten moons. They found some of the animals and fowls alive in the woods, and put on shore another boar and sow and two pigs. The vegetable gardens had been totally neglected, yet the vegetables had thriven in a wonderful manner.

In the mean time, Captain Furneaux in the Adventure had reached the southern coast of New Zealand, near Cape Turnagain, and coasted westward as far as Cape Palliser, intending to pass Cook's Straits, and gain Queen Charlotte's Sound, where he expected to find Cook. But he was driven back by storms, and was at length on Tuesday, the 9th of November, obliged to seek refuge in Tolaga Bay. After fresh endeavours they reached Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte's Sound, on the 30th of November, to find by a note left in a bottle that the Resolution, despairing of hearing of the Adventure, had sailed thence six days before, and intended to spend a few days in the Straits on the look-out for them. Though they were extremely anxious to regain the company of the Resolu-

tion, they were compelled to make some repairs, and during this delay a dreadful tragedy occurred. The natives appeared very friendly, but on the night of the 13th they came down to the shore where the astronomer's tent was set up, and robbed it of all its instruments. One man was seen stealing from the tent, and was fired at and wounded. This, no doubt, caused the horrible catastrophe which followed in a few days. On the 17th the cutter, containing two officers and eight men, went to Grass Cove to collect celery and other greens for the ship's crew. They did not return at night, and the next morning the launch was sent out to look for them, and soon discovered that the whole of the party had been massacred by the natives, and the greater part of their bodies devoured. The crew of the launch fired on the cannibals, who seemed to have assembled from all the surrounding districts to the number of 2000 or more, drove them from their horrible feast, and carried to the ship the sanguinary remains of their late companions to be buried with funeral honours. This shocking event was the more mortifying as the ship was prepared to sail the very day on which it occurred. It left this disastrous place on the 23rd of December, and took the way homewards by Cape Horn.

CAPTAIN COOK'S LAST VOYAGE.

The great discoveries made in the southern hemisphere successively by Captains Byron, Wallis, Carteret, and Cook, but especially by Cook, augmented immensely the spirit of discovery, and a grand scheme of extending these discoveries into the northern hemisphere by the route of the Pacific Ocean was planned, and was sanctioned by George III. This plan was carried into execution by Captains Cook, Clarke, and King, in the ships Resolution and Discovery, in the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780, the account of which was published by order of the Admiralty in 1784 in three volumes quarto. The private instructions to Captain Cook were to proceed by the Cape of Good Hope to the Pacific, calling, if he thought proper, at New Zealand on the way; to land at

Otaheite, and restore to his home Omai, the native whom Cook had brought thence on his last voyage. From Otaheite he was to steer for the north-west of the Pacific, and after arriving at New Albion, to explore the coast northward as far as latitude 65°, if not stopped by ice, for a passage which should lead towards Hudson's or Baffin's Bays—in fact, for the North West Passage, which thenceforward was the occasion of so many voyages and sacrifices of life. Failing to find such passage, he was instructed to winter in the port of St. Peter and St. Paul in Kamtschatka, or some equally convenient port, and to renew the search in the spring. At the same time Lieutenant Pickersgill, and afterwards Lieutenant Young, were sent to Baffin's Bay to prosecute a search westward from that bay. It is unnecessary to say that all these endeavours on each side of the American continent for this object proved failures; but in the course of his voyage Captain Cook made many and extensive discoveries, both north and south, till he met his death at Owhyhee, in the Sandwich islands, on St. Valentine's Day, 1779. None of these most important discoveries, however, come within the bounds of our subject, except Cook's visits to Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand.

On his outward voyage from the Cape of Good Hope, Captain Cook visited Prince Edward's and Kerguelen's Islands, and thence sailed to Van Diemen's Land. He sighted the South Western Cape on the 24th of January, 1777. He sailed along past the Mewstone, the Swilly Isle, and almost a league to the eastward of Swilly named a remarkable rock the Eddystone from its resemblance to that light-house, observing that the Swilly and Eddystone rocks are placed by nature there for the same purpose as the Eddystone light-house, namely, to warn mariners of the dangers around them, concealed rocks and breakers. Between South Cape and Tasman's Head, especially on the north-east side of Storm Bay, he noted several coves and creeks, and believed that good harbour might be found there. On the 26th he was enabled to cast anchor in Adventure Bay, and lay there till the

30th, so that his acquaintance with that one and only spot of Van Diemen's Land was merely of four days.

No great discoveries in the popular habits or the national productions of the country were to be expected from such a transient sojourn. The accounts of Cook and of Mr. Anderson, the surgeon of the ship, are, on the whole, but fac-similes of those of Tasman and Dampier. Cook, however, saw and corrected the position of Maria Island as laid down by Furneaux. He describes the people as much resembling those of the north of Australia, but with woolly hair, and the women as having theirs shaved or clipped close to their heads. They were offered bread, and shown that it was good to eat, but they threw it away, as they did fish; but they accepted birds that were shot. Here also Cook turned some pigs into the woods, but with little hope that they would escape the native spears. They observed that birds shot had maggots upon them in an hour or two, and attributed this to the heat of the climate, not having learned that the Australian blow-fly deposits not eggs but living maggots on fresh meat, which grow with a marvellous rapidity. They killed an opossum, which the drawing shows to be one of the small ring-tailed kind. Their account of the birds, insects, snakes, &c., are like those of their predecessors; and, like them, they were astonished at the enormous size of some of the trees.

Captain Cook had here a second opportunity of ascertaining whether Van Diemen's Land was an island or not, but though he had seen that Captain Furneaux's observation of Maria Island was not correct, he did not suspect that his account of his "very deep bay" was equally so; and sailed away to New Zealand without further inspection. He left Adventure Bay on the 30th of January, 1777, and reached Rock's Point on the 10th of February. He then bore up for his favourite resort, Queen Charlotte's Sound, though he had learned in England the massacre of Furneaux's cutter's crew there. The natives naturally enough imagined that Cook was now come to punish them for their slaughter of his

people, and they kept aloof from the ship; but as he was anxious to establish friendly relations with them, and to teach them to respect Europeans by further knowledge of their power, he took every means to make them acquainted with his intention to pass over this crime, but to punish any recurrence of it most severely. This had the effect of restoring their confidence. They soon came as usual on board, and drawing from different quarters erected a village close by them on the shore; there was soon no spot in the cove on which a hut could be built, which was not occupied by one. These huts were very superior to those of the Australian natives; they were raised of poles, the walls made of reeds, and they were thatched with grass. "They were," says Cook, "abundantly sufficient to keep out the wind and rain, which was all they were intended for;" and the rapidity with which such a temporary village was erected, he describes as surprising. Many of their more permanent houses, Mr. Anderson, the surgeon, says, were built exactly on the principle of our barns, and were some of them of ample dimensions. They contained generally only a few baskets and fishing tackle.

Amongst the natives who returned to the old familiarity was the chief named Kahoora, who was pointed out as the one who headed the party which committed the massacre, and Omai and even some of the natives were urgent that Captain Cook should put him to death. To this counsel, however, he paid no attention though he spoke seriously to Kahoora on the subject. By the presence of the natives the ships obtained plenty of fish, and every precaution was taken by having an armed party attending every detachment of the ship's crew, which was employed on shore, and every man having arms at hand where he happened to be working. Captain Cook thus let the natives see that, though he was not disposed to vengeance, he had not forgotten their treachery in the case of the crew of the Adventure, nor that of their countrymen at the Bay of Islands towards that of Captain Marion.

On visiting the vegetable gardens on shore made by Captain Furneaux, he found them overrun by weeds, but still full of cabbages, onions, leeks, purslain, radishes, mustard, etc., and the potatoes which had been brought from the Cape had greatly improved, and Captain Cook thought they would prove superior to those of most other countries, an anticipation which, I believe, has been fully verified. The natives, however, though they showed themselves very fond of potatoes, had taken no pains to plant any of them afresh.

Captain Cook inquired from different native chiefs how they came to massacre the boat's crew of Captain Furneaux, and heard several different stories, which agreed only in the affray having arisen from a sudden quarrel about the pilfering of some of the natives. There can be little doubt, however, that one of their people having been shot for robbing the observatory, had irritated them to a desire for revenge, for Mr. Anderson justly observes—"No people can have a quicker sense of an injury, and none are more ready to resent it." Their wars amongst themselves were at that time almost incessant, the patoo, or battle-axe, the head of which was generally of green talc, and the spear being their chief weapons, in addition to which, like the Australian natives, they discharged showers of stones. There was a great trade with the Middle Island for talc, which was called *poenammoo*, whence that island was probably called Tavai-Poenammoo, or the Talc Island.

Captain Cook, although he found that most, if not all the animals left on former occasions had been killed and eaten, except some cocks and hens, some of which were said to be wild in the woods, and some others in possession of one of the chiefs, again gave to two other chiefs, at their request, goats and pigs, to propagate a breed of them in the island. He would have left some cattle, but he believed no chief powerful enough to protect them. They found the natives as voracious of train or seal oil as Greenlanders. They smeared their faces and heads with a red paint, apparently a mixture of red

ochre and grease. The women were not so much tattooed as the men, but chiefly on their lips, or a small spot on their chins. They wore necklaces of shark's teeth, or bunches of long beads, apparently made of the leg-bones of small birds, or shells. Some had small, triangular aprons, adorned with the feathers of parrots, or bits of pearl shells, and a double or treble set of cords to fasten them about the waist. Some few had caps or bonnets, made of the feathers of birds, but it was not the general custom to wear anything on their heads. They had their ears slit, and in them they stuck small pieces of jasper, bits of cloth, or beads, and some of them had the *septum* of the nose bored in its lowest part, like some of the natives of the north of Australia, and of other savage countries, and sometimes wore a ring in it. Their only method of cooking their fish or meat was by roasting or baking, having no idea of boiling. The children were taught at an early age all the practices of the adults, and learnt to make hideous faces, and use frightful gestures to create alarm in their enemies. Amongst the vegetable productions of the country Anderson mentions a species of long pepper, very common in the country, but not very agreeable, and a species of Philadelphus, which grew on the hills, of the leaves of which the sailors made tea, and thought it very good; and he notices their pine-trees, "but with leaves and small berries on their points, much like the yew;" of this "spruce-beer" was brewed for the sailors. "They have," he says, "a shrubby speedwell near all the beaches; sow-thistles, virgin's-bower, vanello, French willow, euphorbia, and crane's-bill, cudweed, rushes, bull-rushes, flax, all-heal, American nightshade, knot-grass, brambles, eye-bright, and groundsel, but the species of each are different from any we have in Europe."

Amongst the birds he notices black sea-pies, with red bills, among the rocks, crested shags, of a leaden colour, with small black-spots on the wings and shoulders, and the upper part of their bodies velvet black, tinged with green; common shags, that build in companies on trees,

blue herons, sandy-coloured plovers, and sand-larks, small penguins and black divers on the shores, rails about the brooks, nearly as large as common fowls, and a snipe, little different from that of Europe, various parrots, and two cuckoos, the greater and lesser wattle-bird, and a small, greenish bird, almost the only singer which they heard, but which seemed to make the most varied concert by itself, filling the woods with music, and which they therefore called the mocking bird, with many others.

On the 25th of February, 1777, Captain Cook left New Zealand, taking with him two young natives, who volunteered to accompany him, though he assured both these and their friends that it was most unlikely they would ever have the opportunity of returning. This was his last visit to these regions, his voyage not being completed when he perished at Owhyhee.

CHAPTER VII.

LA PEROUSE, AND THE VOYAGES IN QUEST OF HIM.

La Perouse sailed from Brest in August, 1785.—Captain Langle.—Followed Captain Cook's route to the South Seas, and Kamschatka.—Sails for Australia.—Last seen at Botany Bay.—D'Entrecasteaux sent in search of him.—Labillardiere's account of the voyage.—D'Entrecasteaux heard at the Cape of men having been seen in the Admiralty Isles in French dresses and uniforms by Commodore Hunter.—Sailed for the Admiralty Isles.—Van Diemen's Land.—Entrance of the estuary of the Derwent.—D'Entrecasteaux's Bay.—Impressions of the island.—Enormous trees seen.—A rich botanical harvest.—D'Entrecasteaux Strait.—Sailed for New Caledonia.—New Hebrides.—Isle of Mallicola.—The real scene of La Perouse's wreck.—Sailed by New Guinea, Timor, west and south coast of Australia.—Named many parts of this south coast.—Narrow escape of M. Riche, the naturalist.—Again to Van Diemen's Land.—Fresh botanical discoveries.—Black swans.—Excursion to the mountains.—Account of the natives.—Their friendliness.—Further geographical discoveries of the French in Van Diemen's Land.—Labillardiere suspected a passage between Australia and Van Diemen's Land.—After course of the voyage.—D'Entrecasteaux's death.—The vessels seized and detained at Batavia.—Death of eighty of the crew.—Return home.—Captain Dillon finds relics of La Perouse at Tercopia.—Hears of his wreck at Mallicola.—Commissioned by the British Government in India to go thither to clear up the matter.—Seizure and ill-treatment by the authorities at Van Diemen's Land.—Success of Dillon in discovering the place of La Perouse's wreck.—Recovers many relics.—Receives from the King of France the order of the Legion of Honour, and an annuity of 4,000 francs.

In consequence of the persevering efforts at discovery in the southern hemisphere, the French Government sent out M. Jean François Galaup De La Perouse, to make a voyage of observation and discovery round the world, in 1785. He sailed from Brest on the 1st of August of that year, with two frigates, La Boussole, commanded by himself, and the Astrolabe, commanded by Captain Langle, under him. The vessels were furnished with everything necessary to the success of the enterprise. A large number of books of science and natural history, instruments for astronomical and other observations, and in each ship an astronomer, mineralogist, meteorologist, geographer, botanist, and botanic gardener, as well as draughtsmen for the different departments. Great provision was made for preserving the health of all on board, and the objects of the voyage were laid down at

such length as to make a complete volume, and constitute the first of the four volumes of the relation of the voyage. He was to follow the route of Captain Cook by Cape Horn into the Pacific. He was to pay particular attention to the Islands of the Pacific, as visited by Cook, and other navigators. To visit Pitcairn Island, the Society Isles, Friendly Isles, the isles of St. Bernard, and of the Handsome Natives discovered by Quiros, the Isles of Deliverance, and of the Arsacides discovered by Surville in 1769. He was then to proceed to the Pacific entrance of Behring's Straits, visit the Kurile Isles, and the promontory of Kamschatka. From Avatscha, or Port of St. Peter and Paul, he was to proceed to China and Japan, and so home by the Moluccas and the Cape of Good Hope, having in the earlier part of his voyage explored New Guinea and the north-west coast of New Holland. La Perouse seems to have changed this route considerably. After visiting the Kuriles and coast of Kamschatka, he went on to China, Japan, the Philippine Isles, etc., and then returned to explore Australia. He touched at Tongataboo, and steered for the Australian coast by Norfolk Island, having then to visit New Guinea, New Britain, and the western coasts of Australia.

It was expected that all these voyagings and researches would occupy him several years, and he had continued successfully to prosecute them till January, 1788, on the 26th of which month he dropped anchor in Botany Bay. His journal terminates at this date, and a letter of the 5th of February, and a fragment of another of the 7th, were the last intelligence received from him. He had then met with nothing but good fortune, and was confidently calculating on exploring the coasts of New Guinea, New Caledonia, and New Holland, as far as Van Diemen's Land, according to his instructions. From this point many years passed without any tidings of the fate of himself and his companions, though various vessels were sent out to discover traces of them. At length it was sufficiently ascertained that the two ships were

lost on an island of the New Hebrides, and every soul, it was believed, perished. These islands of the New Hebrides lying in his proposed route to New Caledonia, it is clear that he was pursuing the tract prescribed in his instructions, and mentioned in his last letter. On the shores of Botany Bay, near the place of his last known anchorage, stands a solitary monument to his memory which I saw in 1854.

As La Perouse only touched on the coast of New South Wales so far as we have his journals, he threw no fresh light on the Australian continent; but it is a curious coincidence that he should just fall in there with the British squadron sent out to found the new penal colony. As he entered Botany Bay, he saw the squadron of governor Philip about to sail out, having found that the sterile, sandy country around that bay was unfit for the settlement, and that the present site of Sydney, in Sydney Cove, was a splendid one. He says that Captain Hunter of the Sirius, the future governor of Sydney, and who gave his name to the fine river north of that district, was extremely polite to him. Thus the unfortunate La Perouse in the moment preceding his own destruction was present, though unconsciously, at the birth of a great Austral Empire.

D'ENTRECASTEAUX'S VOYAGE IN QUEST OF LA PEROUSE IN THE YEARS 1791, 1792, AND 1793.

No tidings having been received in France of La Pérouse and the two ships under his command, the Boussole and Astrolabe, for three years, the Society of Natural History of Paris in 1791 awakened the attention of the Constituent Assembly respecting the fate of that navigator and his companions. It may be supposed that the convulsions and excitements of the Revolution during the long absence of La Perouse and his comrades, had diverted the public thoughts from the mystery which shrouded the fortunes of that expedition more than could possibly have been the case at any other time. But now it was determined to send out two other ships

in quest of the missing ones, and in the hope, if the vessels of La Perouse were wrecked, as appeared most probable, that something might be heard positively of the misfortune, and that should any of the crew survive, they might be found and rescued. Interesting as are the details of the voyages which took place on this quest, our notice of them must be confined to those particulars of them which bear upon the subject of Australian discovery.

The last letter of La Perouse was, as I have said, dated from Botany Bay the 7th of February, 1788, and this stated that he was about to pursue his instructions in visiting New Caledonia and other islands in that direction; in July he hoped to pass between New Guinea and New Holland, and thus determine that these countries were actually separated by sea. Thence, during September and October, to explore the coasts of the Gulf of Carpentaria, and the west coast of New Holland as far as Van Diemen's Land, and endeavour to reach the Isle of France in December, 1788.

Rear-admiral Bruni D'Entrecasteaux was appointed to the command of the two vessels sent on this expedition. These were La Recherche and L'Espérance, two store ships of about 500 tons burthen each, sheathed with wood and their bottoms then filled with nails in order to strengthen them. Captain Huon Kermadee was appointed to the command of the Espérance under Admiral D'Entrecasteaux. The Recherche had on board 113 men, and the Espérance 106. On board the Recherche were Messieurs Bertrand, astronomer, Labillardiere, Deschamps, and Louis Veutenat, naturalists; M. Beaupré, geographical engineer; M. Peron, draughtsman; and M. Lahaie, gardener, besides other officers necessary for such an expedition. On board the Espérance were M. Pierson, astronomer; Messieurs Riche and Blavier, naturalists; M. Juveney, geographical engineer; and M. Ely, draughtsman.

The two vessels, well found in provisions and articles for presents to the natives of the countries at which they

should touch, set sail from Brest on the 28th of September, 1791, and proceeded southwards. It is to M. Labillardière that we owe the account of the voyage. This naturalist had already visited England, traversed the Alps, and re-visited Asia Minor in pursuit of the objects of his science, and was thus well prepared to discharge the duties of his post. The vessels touched at Teneriffe; the naturalists ascended the Peak; and they thence sailed for the Cape of Good Hope. At the cape they were informed by a letter from M. Saint Felix, commander of the French naval forces in the Indian seas, dated from the Isle of France, November the 9th, 1791, that two captains of French ships had made depositions to the effect that in conversations with Commodore Hunter and his crew at Batavia, they were informed by them that Hunter, captain of the English frigate Sirius, bound for New Holland, had been wrecked on Norfolk Island towards the end of the year 1790, that he and his crew were there picked up by the sloop of war which was following on the same mission, and conveyed to Botany Bay; that Governor Phillip had sent Hunter and his men home in a small vessel, which having put into Batavia, there stated that having been driven on this homeward voyage to within sight of the Admiralty Islands, situated on the 147th°. of longitude from the meridian of Greenwich, and in 3° 25′ south latitude, saw several boats filled with men covered with European stuffs and pieces of cloth: that he could distinguish the uniform of the French navy: that as Commodore Hunter had seen La Perouse at Botany Bay, and learned from him that he meant to pass through St. George's Strait in order to get to the northward, he felt, therefore, very confident that the Boussole and Astrolabe had been lost on these islands, and these clothes had belonged to the people of La Perouse's expedition. Both these captains stated that Commodore Hunter in vain signalled these natives to come on board, and dared not himself approach the island on account of strong currents and shoals.

All this appeared so matter-of-fact and reliable, that

M. Saint Felix despatched the Atalante frigate, from the Isle of France, to meet Admiral D'Entrecasteaux at the Cape, and give him this information. Captain Bolle, the commander of the frigate, had reached the Cape, and finding the admiral had not yet arrived, had left the despatch of M. Saint Felix with the French Chargé d' Affaires, and sailed back to the Isle of France.

It was a singular coincidence, that Commodore Hunter himself was anchored at the Cape, at the moment of the arrival of Admiral D'Entrecasteaux, but sailed two hours afterwards, without seeking to communicate with the French admiral, though the object of his expedition was well known there, and though he must have been aware that this was the expedition. Neither could D'Entrecasteaux find, on going on shore, that Commodore Hunter had mentioned this remarkable discovery at the Admiralty Islands, neither to the Governor of the Cape, or to any of his English friends there. Moreover, Captain Bligh, on his way a second time to the Society Islands, to procure bread-fruit trees, and convey them to the British West Indies—the mutiny of his men, and their seizure of his ship, having occurred in his first voyage—had arrived at the Cape soon after the departure of the Atalante, and had stated, that though he had been in communication with Commodore Hunter, he had not said to him a word of any such adventure at the Admiralty Islands.

All this, caused Admiral D'Entrecasteaux to believe that the report of the two French Captains, regarding Hunter having seen French uniforms, and other European articles of dress, at the Admiralty Islands, was not correct. Notwithstanding this persuasion, Admiral D'Entrecasteaux resolved to proceed direct to the Admiralty Islands, that he might not lose even the slightest chance of finding the remains of La Perouse's expedition, and rescuing any members of it that might survive. After about a month's abode at the Cape, the two vessels sailed thence on the 16th of February, and after sighting the island of St. Paul, they experienced very stormy

weather; the Admiral was knocked down on deck, and severely injured, and the roughness of the weather continuing, they made for Van Diemen's Land, and on the 20th of April, they anchored in Storm Bay. It was their intention to anchor in Adventure Bay, as Captain Cook had done, but the Admiral not being yet sufficiently recovered of his injury to get on deck, an incorrect bearing being given by the person appointed to take the bearings, they found themselves in Storm Bay, instead of Adventure Bay. In vain did they look for Penguin Islands, but they soon discovered their error, and on exploring Storm Bay, found that it was much superior to Adventure Bay for anchorage. In fact, they had struck the entrance into the estuary of the Derwent, and the highway to the future capital of the island, Hobart Town.

On their voyage, they had noted great variations of the needle, and discovered that they had made a much longer passage, by not going southward enough to catch the westerly winds. They caught plenty of fish in the bay with the hook and line, and amongst them, a species of small shark, called *Squalus cinereus*, which they found to remain at the bottom of the water, and which did not attempt to injure the sailors when they bathed. They saw some mountains of a considerable height before them northward, covered with woods and verdure; no doubt, Mount Wellington, and the others in the neighbourhood of the now existing Hobart Town. Going on shore, they found some huts and broiled shell-fish. As they surveyed the solitary wilderness before them, and around the bay, with its solemn woods, they describe their feelings, as those of deep awe, at the aspect of that silent haven, situated at the extremity of the globe.

It is curious to note their impressions of the various objects which they encountered in their excursions in this unknown land, objects, now so familiar to us; and also how entirely they correspond with the accounts of Captain Cook and his naturalists, fifteen years before. They gave the name of Port D'Entrecasteaux to the

basin at the head of the bay, which they describe as nearly of an oval form, and capable of affording anchorage to a hundred ships of the line. On all sides were vast forests and mountains at no great distance. They discovered a small river towards the north-east at the head of this harbour, but their boats could not ascend it from its being obstructed by fallen trees. They observed wild-ducks on this river, and sheds slightly built of bark, scattered along its banks; and fires in the woods announced that natives were not far off. They describe themselves as greatly struck with the sight of those ancient forests, not yet touched by the axe, and at the prodigious size of the trees, many of them not less than a hundred and fifty feet high, and of proportionable bulk, and all of an evergreen character. They discovered several small rivers, amongst them probably the Huon, as this river appears to have received the name of Huon Kermadee, commander of the Espérance, who died on the voyage. His name also attaches to the fine species of pine, which flourishes on its banks, the Huon pine.

At every step of their progress on this new land, the naturalists met with animals, plants or trees, which are now so well known to us, and the accuracy of their descriptions of which shows us how far they were from indulging in the commonly assumed "Traveller's Wonders." They noticed a very characteristic feature of Australian woods, that the trees are frequently so thinly scattered, as to allow the grass to grow freely under them. They soon found a variety of species of *eucalyptus*, and were astonished at the vast size of the *eucalyptus resinifera*, or iron-bark gum-tree, the *eucalyptus robusta*, or stringy-bark, with its stringy bark, and its easy separation in large sheets from the tree. They gathered several specimens of *philadelphus*, a new species of *epacris*, which grows finely in Tasmania, and the *Banksia integrifolia*. They were greatly surprised at shooting a *black* swan, the first of that kind which they had seen or heard of, and describe it very accurately,

except as being larger than the European swan. They noticed the fact of the trees being frequently blown down by the winds, and the mass of earth occupied by their roots, standing up like walls; and also that of the natives having made their fires against the stems of trees, occasioning an excavation at their bottom, often of such large extent, that the natives took their meals in them. Some of these trees, they observed, as the traveller does now, hollow to the top, forming a sort of chimney. The tendency to hollowness of the trees did not escape their attention, nor the vast quantities of earth or clay, frequently in these hollows, carried there by the ants. They killed a small kangaroo, and noticed the huts of the natives, which consisted of boughs, stuck into the ground, and large sheets of stringy bark reared against them, as a screen from the wind. When they came in contact with the natives themselves, they found them at first very shy, but becoming familiar, were very friendly indeed. They had little clothing, even in the cold weather, except a kangaroo skin thrown over the shoulders. They had water-vessels made of the *fucus palmatus*, and those which they saw appeared to live chiefly on muscles, and other shell-fish, for which the women dived in the estuary. They had baskets also, made clumsily of the sea-rush, the *juncus acutus*.

Amongst the natural productions observed by them during this visit were several species of *casuarina*; the enormous blue gum tree, *eucalyptus globulus*; and the native cherry, *exocarpus cupressiformis*, of which they give accurate drawings. They met with the tree fern; and amongst birds, besides numerous parrots, they shot the *wattled bee-eater*, a species of *merops*; and had a glimpse of an animal of the size of a large dog, of a whitish colour, spotted or striped with black, no doubt the *Thylacynus*, or native hyena. They also saw a number more of kangaroos.

On the 16th of May, the two vessels were turned to the mouth of the harbour, and proceeded to explore an opening, afterwards known as D'Entrecasteaux Strait,

betwixt the mainland and Bruni Island. They gave the name of *Ile aux Perdrix* to a small island in this strait, because they thought they saw a flock of partridges there, but which subsequent observation proved to be quails. Having passed Adventure Bay and issued from the strait, they shaped their course north-east, in order to make for New Caledonia. It was approaching the Australian winter, and they already saw the mountains of Van Diemen's Land covered with snow. On the 16th of June they came in sight of the Island of Pines, not far from the southern extremity of New Caledonia. Coasting New Caledonia, they sailed next to the New Hebrides, and not very far from the Isle of Malicola, where, it will be seen in Dillon's voyage in the same quest, it was afterwards discovered that La Perouse had actually been lost. They then bore away north-westward, by Bouganville's Island, and so to New Ireland. After some stay in New Ireland, and some of the adjacent small islets, they passed betwixt New Ireland and New Guinea, and made for the Admiralty Islands, where the French captain had represented Commodore Hunter as seeing traces of French uniforms; but in several interviews with the natives of these islands, they could discover no traces whatever of any Europeans having been wrecked there, or of any knowledge of European articles much less such articles themselves. From these islands, therefore, they continued their voyage round the north-west point of New Guinea; passed through the group of the Moluccas; made some stay at Amboyna: and then continued their course south-west by the Island of Timor; and taking a wide sweep round the west coast of Australia, only drew near to it at Cape Chatham, in Leeuwin's Land, whence they coasted Nuyts Land to near the 130° of east longitude, or near to the western boundary of the present colony of South Australia. From this point they steered south-east for Van Diemen's Land again, which they sighted on the 19th of December, 1792, and anchored again in Storm Bay on the 22nd.

In this run from Cape Leeuwin, through King George's Sound, into the Australian Bight, they made this coast better known than it had been before, and have left lasting memorials of their track in the names of Cape Riche, so called after one of the naturalists; Recherche Archipelago, Espérance Bay, Cape Legrand, &c. They describe this coast, like all the navigators, as extremely barren, rocky, and sandy, and in some places abounding in seals, many of which they killed. The coast was dangerous with reefs; they passed amongst a number of islands; and suffered much from the violence of the sea. In Legrand's Bay, they not only killed many seals for food, but also a number of swans, of a grey species. The place abounded with enormous sharks. They added to their knowledge of natural history the *eucalyptus cornuta*, a mere shrub in height; two species of banksia, the *repens* and the *nivea*; a beautiful flower, the *anigozanthus rufa*; a new species of leguminous plant, which M. Labillardiere named *chorizeura*; the penguin, *aptenodyta minor*, seen by Captain Cook in New Zealand; and the gold-winged pigeon, probably what is now called the bronze-winged pigeon. Of other birds, a *muscicapa* and a beautiful red-crested cockatoo, *Psittacus Moluccensis*, both found in the Moluccas, were the most remarkable. They also saw kangaroos and emus. The coast was miserably sandy, and in places marshy, yet extremely destitute of good water.

In their excursion here, the naturalists lost sight of M. Riché. He had become bewildered, and on their returning to the ship, did not appear. It was upwards of two days before those sent in search of him discovered him, nearly dead of hunger and exhaustion, having suffered equally from the intense heat of the days and the cold of the nights. Few natives were seen, and these kept at a safe distance.

Finding some difficulty, owing to the wind, in anchoring in Storm Bay, Admiral D'Entrecasteaux entered a bay to the left hand, which he named Rocky Bay, and there made further acquaintance with the country and the

natives, during about five weeks' continuance there and in Adventure Bay. The naturalists considerably increased their knowledge of the productions of the island. Amongst the plants and trees added to their collection were, amongst others, the *mageutoxeron rufum* and *reflexum*: various species of *calceolaria, drosera, imbotherium, leptospermum, plantago,* the *carpodontos lucida, lobelia,* growing in clefts of rocks, *erica, loti, utricularia mimosa,* and a coniferous tree with very fine wood, probably the Huon pine. They obtained abundance of oysters and other fish, and black swans. They made excursions to some of the mountains in the neighbouring country; passed a considerable lake; and described some portions of the western shores as extremely precipitous, with cliffs in the caverns, and against the steeps of which the sea beat awfully.

The natives continued very friendly. They describe them as having woolly hair and beards; their skins, of not a very deep black, and as being tattooed in a peculiar way, apparently by burning about the head and shoulders. The custom prevalent amongst the Australians on the continent, of knocking out two of the front teeth in the men, was not in use amongst these savages. Their weapon was a simple dart, pointed at each end, and the point hardened in the fire. Instead of liking the music of a violin, it was found most disagreeable to them; and on its continuance, they stopped their ears. The women, on the coast where they were, dived to the bottom of the sea in order to procure lobsters and other shellfish for the sustenance of their families, the men sitting at home, lazily enjoying the produce of these arduous and dangerous labours of the women. M. Labillardière represents the men as having their backs, breasts, and shoulders covered with soft, woolly hair. They had, some of them, two wives. Their language was wholly different to that of the natives on the other side of the channel, showing them to be of a different race.

One of these natives made them understand that he

had before seen a ship or ships in Adventure Bay, which the French imagined to have been the ship of Captain Bligh, who was there in 1792, just previous to themselves; and a few days afterwards, they found the following inscription on a tree:—"Near this tree, Captain William Bligh planted 7 fruit-trees; 1792. Messrs. S. and W., botanists." Of these, all but one were alive and had flourished well; namely, three fig trees, two pomegranates, and a quince. At some distance they also found an apple tree, which had grown extremely, showing, what has been so splendidly corroborated, how admirably nearly all kinds of fruits suited for a temperate climate thrive in Australia. The natives, however, probably remembered the two ships of Captain Cook, which were in the bay in 1777.

The poor natives showed great regret at the departure of the French voyagers, and this was the race which was afterwards converted into such deadly enemies by the English settlers as to make it necessary to expatriate them wholly to Flinders' Island.

Admiral D'Entrecasteaux sailed with his two vessels from Van Diemen's Land on the 28th of February, 1793, having during his stay discovered several bays, till then unknown, the most distant towards the north extending to the latitude of 42° 42′ south, and the eastward reaching as far as the longitude of Cape Pillar. They discovered the channel which separates Maria Island from the mainland, till then not fully explored, even by Cook. They saw, with astonishment, the prodigious number of places of shelter which from the South Cape, as far as the meridian of Cape Pillar, afford a continuity of excellent anchorages in a space of about fifty miles, from west to east, and of about sixty miles from north to south. Before quitting the island they put on shore a couple of goats, in the vain hope that they might escape the darts of the natives, and stock the mountains and forests with a useful animal.

It should not be omitted, in honour of M. Labillardière, that in crossing the mouth of Bass's Straits, in ap-

proaching Van Diemen's Land this time, he suspected the existence of those straits. He says:—"On the 6th of January, 1793, we had been carried twenty-three miles to the westward of our reckoning, and in the course of the 7th, twenty miles in the same direction. At noon we were in latitude 35° 30′ south. The rapidity with which these currents set to the westward depends, perhaps, on some channel which separates the lands of New Holland from those of Cape Diemen, between Point Hicks and Furneaux's Islands. Captain Cook, when he explored the east part of New Holland, saw no land in this space, the extent of which is upwards of 120 miles, and thought that he was at the entrance of a great gulf. Perhaps in that part of the coast begins the opening of a channel, which, after having formed different sinuosities, runs to the westward, and there forms another opening in the same latitude as that in which we experienced such strong currents." Captain Hunter, of the Sirius, in 1788 had suspected the same thing, and Bass afterwards proved the correctness of this idea, and demonstrated Van Diemen's Land to be an island.

At this point of D'Entrecasteaux's voyage terminates its relation to Australian discovery. The two vessels sailed away eastward, touched at the Isles of the Three Kings, beyond the northern point of New Zealand, thence proceeded to the Friendly Islands, thence steered directly west to the north point of New Caledonia, where Captain Huon died, and then took a northerly course as far as Queen Charlotte's Islands, passing, as I have observed, within nine or ten leagues of Mallicolo, in the New Hebrides, where actually lay the remains of the expedition of which they were in quest, much of which were destroyed before Captain Dillon's voyage in 1826. From this point they sailed westward betwixt the Solomon Islands, along the northern shores of the Louisiade Archipelago, and of New Guinea, there passing through Dampier's Strait to New Britain, where they also lost Admiral D'Entrecasteaux.

In their voyage homewards they were driven into the port of Batavia for provisions, and the Dutch being at war with France, they were so long detained, that out of two hundred and nineteen persons belonging to the expedition, they lost eighty-nine, the greater number of these deaths being due to the pestiferous climate of Java. Thus D'Entrecasteaux, Huon, and more than one third of their men must be reckoned amongst the numerous martyrs to Australian discovery. M. Labillardière and Captain, afterwards Admiral Rossel, who succeeded Captain Daoribeau in command of the Recherche, managed to reach home by way of the Isle of France, to relate to their countrymen the disastrous termination of the expedition, and with no tidings whatever of the fate of La Perouse and his companions.

The person destined to discover the fate of La Perouse was Captain Peter Dillon, a seafaring man, who had sailed in the ship Hunter as an officer under its commander, Captain Robson, from Calcutta to New South Wales, the Feejee Isles, and thence to Canton. This was in 1812 and 1813. In 1826 this Captain Dillon, who seems to have been a somewhat rough but clear-headed and independent trader, was bound on a voyage from Valparaiso to Pondicherry, in his own ship, the St. Patrick, when he came in sight of Tucopia, laid down in the charts as Barwell Island, in latitude 12° 15′ south, and east longitude 169°. As in 1813 the Hunter had left one Martin Bushart, a Prussian, his wife, and a lascar on this island, Dillon now made for it to ascertain whether they were still alive. They proved to be all alive and well, and speedily came aboard. From them he learned that the natives possessed a number of articles which must formerly have belonged to some European ship. Amongst these were an old silver sword-guard, which the lascar had purchased, and now sold to one of the sailors for a few fish-hooks. Besides this, the natives were reported to have several chain-plates belonging to a ship, also a number of iron bolts, five axes, the handle of a silver fork, a few knives, tea-cups, glass

beads and bottles, one silver spoon, with a crest and a cypher, and a sword, all of French manufacture. The natives reported that they procured these in the island of Mallicolo, one of the Esperito Santo Isles, or New Hebrides, at about two days' sail distant, with which the natives traded; that the natives of Mallicolo had many more such things, and a great deal of iron. The account they gave of these articles being found there was, that many years ago two large vessels had been wrecked close on the coast of Mallicolo, at places named Whanow and Paiow. That the crew of the vessel wrecked at Whanow were partly drowned, and the rest knocked on the head as they reached the shore by the natives, so that not a single soul escaped from that vessel.

The vessel wrecked at Paiow remained on the rocks for some time. The people on board managed to conciliate the natives by presents of axes, beads, and other things, and were permitted to land, where they built a small vessel, in which the majority sailed away, but a few being of necessity left behind, dispersed themselves amongst the different chiefs, with whom they resided till their death. One or two were supposed yet to survive. On examining the sword-guard, Captain Dillon thought he could trace the initials of La Perouse upon it, and this, and the news of the other articles, and the wreck of two vessels, determined him to sail immediately for Mallicolo, and learn all possible particulars of the unfortunate expedition, securing at the same time such of the remaining relics as he could, and saving, if possible, the lives of any survivors. Unfortunately, on nearing the Mallicolos his vessel grew leaky, and a person on board, interested in the cargo, insisted on his making all speed for Calcutta.

Captain Dillon then entered into arrangements with the Government of India to proceed to the Mallicolos in the ship Research, by way of Van Diemen's Land and New Guinea. This course had been successfully followed by Commodore John Hayes, with the ships Duke and Duchess of Clarence, in 1793, for the purpose

of exploring the east coast of New Guinea, and the adjacent islands. On this voyage Commodore Hayes had anchored in Adventure Bay, and discovered the Derwent, which led, a few years afterwards, to the colonizing of that part of Tasmania. On the 12th of January, 1827, Captain Dillon set sail from Calcutta, destined to undergo great mortification and ill-treatment from having taken on board a most mischievous surgeon, named Tytler, and in consequence of his misrepresentations, having been very harshly treated by the Government of Van Diemen's Land. Dillon touched at New Zealand both in going and returning, anchoring in the Bay of Islands famous for the massacres of the French Captain Marion, and his crew, in 1772, and of the Captain and crew of the English ship Mercury, in 1824, and only sixteen miles from Wangaroa, the scene of the massacre of the Boyd, in 1809; but as his narrative adds little to discovery there, we pass it over. Proceeding to the Friendly Islands, at Pongimotoo, a small island close to Tongataboo, he came upon proofs of La Perouse having been there. The natives spoke of two ships which had anchored some years after Captain Cook, the commander of whom wore spectacles, and was called by them Lowage. Some of these people were said by the natives to have noses a foot long, having supposed the pokes of their cocked hats to be part of their faces. After a skirmish with the natives the two ships had sailed away westward. There were said to be two pewter plates, procured from Lowage's ships, with French inscriptions upon them, kept for the service of the gods. Singleton, an Englishman employed as interpreter, said he had himself seen and handled these plates frequently. This information Captain Dillon justly concluded was proof that La Perouse had faithfully followed the route he had proposed in his last letter. D'Entrecasteaux had been at Tongatoboo, close by, but by anchoring only at Tonga, the capital, he missed this information.

Captain Dillon sailed from the Friendly Islands to Tucopia, about three degrees north of Mallicolo, and

lying nearly midway between the New Hebrides and the Queen Charlotte Islands, to which place he had heard that many of the articles belonging to the wrecks of La Perouse's vessels were carried by the natives who traded to Mallicolo. In this visit he was extremely successful. He found the account confirmed by the Tucopians of the wrecks of these two vessels at Whanow and Paiow; and numbers of articles belonging to them were soon brought to him for purchase. Sword-blades, hammers, rasps, plain iron bolts and screw bolts, one very old razor, half a brass globe, muleteers' bells, &c., and a silver sword handle, with a large and small cypher on one side of it, and on the other side one cypher, apparently resembling a P, surmounted with a large crown. The moment that Dillon saw the sword-handle, he recognised it as belonging to the sword-guard which he had carried to Calcutta. Satisfied that he was on the right track for clearing up the whole mystery, he took an interpreter with him, well skilled in the Mallicolo language, whilst he himself, from frequent visits to the South Seas, knew the interpreter's language. Arriving at Mallicolo, he soon was in possession of a great number of other articles, clearly from the same wrecks. Various pieces of iron obtained from the wreck, and recognised as belonging to particular parts of a ship; a silver gravy-spoon, having the letter P and fleur-de-lis upon it; other muleteers' bells; pieces of copper; large iron bolts; various iron knees of ships; two iron rudder-braces; pieces of two anchors; a blacksmith's vice; four brass guns, of $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches calibre; a small brass mortar; copper boilers, pans, saucepans, and other vessels; a silver sauceboat, with the fleur-de-lis stamp in two places; various parts of silver and other candlesticks, &c., &c.; a bell, with the maker's name on it—*Bazin m'a fait;* and a great number of articles besides, belonging to the uses of a large vessel, of which a catalogue is given in Dillon's account. All these articles were carefully examined by a French agent on board with him. He visited the places of the two different wrecks,

and also the place where the survivors built their boat in which they sailed away. Of the two Frenchmen who had lived till but recently on the island, one was now dead, and the other gone with some of the natives to some other island. Captain Dillon learned that the skulls of some of those who had been wrecked or killed were in their spirit-houses. He found the island surrounded by most dangerous coral reefs, which in stormy weather would be unseen, and only discovered by striking upon them.

Thus his voyage had proved most decisive; the mystery of the long-hidden fate of La Perouse and his companions was cleared up. The articles, being sent to France, were fully identified as belonging to La Perouse's expedition. The guns were found, by their weights stamped upon them, and registered at the admiralty, to be undoubtedly belonging to La Perouse's vessels. The Viscount Lesseps, who had accompanied La Perouse as far as Kamschatka, recognised a piece of board with the fleur-de-lis upon it, as having been part of the ornamental work of the stern of the Boussole; and, besides other things, a mill-stone, as having been of a peculiar kind used in the Astrolabe. Captain Dillon was presented to the French king on the 2nd of March, 1829, who conferred on him the order of the Legion of Honour, and commanded the expenses of his voyage from India to Europe to be refunded, and an annuity of 4000 francs for life to be settled upon him. This, independent of the honour of having solved this long-existing mystery, was a pleasant recompense for the barbarous treatment which he had received in Van Diemen's Land, and for other ungracious incidents of his voyage. The expedition of La Perouse, and those in quest of him, did not throw much new light on Australia, but the interest inseparable from his history demanded a concise narrative of them.

CHAPTER VIII.

DISCOVERIES ON THE COASTS OF AUSTRALIA AND VAN DIEMAN'S LAND, BETWIXT 1788 AND 1795, OR BETWIXT THE PERIODS OF COOK AND FLINDERS.

Voyage of Captain Bligh, of the Bounty.—Planted fruit-trees at Adventure Bay.—Mutiny of the crew of the Bounty.—Pitcairn's Island.—Bligh's adventurous escape to England.—Land of Arnheim visited by Lieutenant M'Cluer, in 1791.—Discoveries of Admiral Edwards in Torres Straits, in 1791.—Wreck of the Pandora.—Captain Vancouver's discovery on the South Coast of Australia, in 1791.—King George's Sound named by him.—Recherche Archipelago.—Captain Bligh's discoveries in Torres Straits.—Clarence's Archipelago.—Voyage of Captains Bampton and Alt.—Discoveries in Torres Straits.—Massacre of Captain Hill and four seamen in Danby's Island.—Martial character of the natives.—Further route of Bampton and Alt.—Captain Hayes names the Derwent estuary at the present Hobart Town in 1794.

THE story of Captain Bligh and the seizure of the Bounty by his mutinous seamen is known to every one. On both his voyages he had to traverse the north coast of Australia, and in going out in his first voyage, he touched at Adventure Bay, in Tasmania. To make his part in Australian discovery the clearer, it may be as well to state the occasion of his voyages, and the order in which they took place. The representations which Captain Cook had made of the value of the bread-fruit and other fruit trees of the South Sea islands, induced the British government to send out Lieutenant William Bligh in the ship Bounty, to Tahiti, to convey thence a collection of such trees to our West India islands. Bligh, who had already visited those islands with Captain Cook, sailed from Spithead on the 23rd of December, 1787, and reached his destination on the 26th of October, 1788. Thus a voyage which may now be made in a couple of months, then required ten.

On his way out, Bligh put into Van Diemen's Land, where, in Adventure Bay, he planted a number of European fruit trees, as already observed and left an inscription, stating when and by whom this was done. These were seen in a flourishing condition by the French admiral, D'Entrecasteaux, in 1792. Bligh made no particular discovery

BASS'S STRAIT
HUNTER'S ISLES
DEVON
CORNWALL
WESTMORELAND
MONTAGUE
LINCOLN
GLAMORGAN
FRANKLIN
BUCKINGHAM
ARTHUR
TASMANIA
OR
VAN DIEMAN'S
LAND.

there; his account of the coast and its inhabitants agrees with those of others: one circumstance only which he records is curious; namely, that when he threw presents to the natives on shore, they put them on their heads, in token of thanks, as the natives of the north coast of Australia are represented to have done by Witsen and others.

When Bligh had completed his cargo of trees in Tahiti, and had been twenty-four days on his voyage towards the West Indies, his crew rose against him, and compelled him to go on board the launch with eighteen men who were well affected towards him. They had a certain quantity of water, rum, and provisions given them, as well as a quadrant and a compass, but no chart, ephemeris, or sextant. In this open boat Bligh and his companions had the ability and the good fortune to steer their way by the north of Australia, and through Torres' dangerous straits to reach Timor.

Christian, the officer who was the ring-leader of the mutiny, and who afterwards escaped the pursuit of justice, and lived to be the patriarch of the Pitcairn islanders, would have sent these unfortunate men abroad on the ocean to perish, but he was in some degree overruled by the better-minded of the crew, and instead of a crazy boat and very little provision, they obtained the launch and a better supply. At the time of their being turned adrift, they were near the island of Tofoa. Their whole stock of provisions for nineteen persons to sail upwards of 3000 nautical miles with in an open boat were only 150 pounds of bread, 32 pounds of pork, 6 quarts of rum, 6 bottles of wine, and 28 gallons of water. They landed on Tofoa to secure some further stock of eatables, but the savage inhabitants beat them off before they had gathered many plantains, cocoa-nuts, and bread fruit. They managed on their voyage to catch a few sea birds, and they steered directly westward for Torres Straits, and so for Timor. They struck the east coast of Australia in about $12\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ south latitude, and sailing northward, passed the Prince of Wales' Islands. By passing north

of these islands, while Captain Cook had passed south, Bligh opened up a new channel, and thus, even under such disastrous circumstances, added one more item to the catalogue of discovery.

Whilst Bligh and his companions were making their arduous endeavours to reach England, where, however, twelve only besides himself arrived, John Henry Cox, commander of the brig Mercury, touched at Van Diemen's Land on the 3rd of July, 1789. He first discovered a deep bay lying north by west ten miles from the Mewstone, in the very quarter in which Captain Cook said good harbour would be found. The country around was hilly and finely wooded, and in the bay was a stream of fresh water. They saw traces of inhabitants and of kangaroos. Cox endeavoured to gain Adventure Bay, but being carried northward, he found and put into Oyster Bay, on the inner side of Maria Island, a useful discovery, anchorage being found secure, and wood and water plentiful. An account of the voyage was published by Lieutenant Mortimer in 1791.

Towards the end of 1791, Lieutenant John M'Cluer, of the Bombay Marines, in returning from the survey of the west coast of New Guinea, made the land of Arnheim, in longitude 135½° east of Greenwich. He followed the shore westward to 129° 55′, when he found the coast take a southern direction. He places the point of turning in 11° 15′ south latitude, the Cape Van Diemen of the old charts. From the chart of this voyage published by Dalrymple in 1792, it appears that Lieutenant M'Cluer made constant soundings in from 7 to 40 fathoms water, but at such a distance from land that he frequently could not see it. The service which he rendered was in ascertaining the positions of several islands, shoals, and projecting parts of the coast, and in conferring a certain degree of authenticity upon the discoveries of early Dutch navigators. Flinders considers him to have been the last person who added anything to the north coast of Australia previous to his own voyage in the Investigator.

In consequence of the reported case of the mutiny of the seamen of the Bounty, and their carrying away the ship, Captain, afterwards Admiral, Edward Edwards was sent out in the Pandora to Tahiti to endeavour to discover and capture the criminals. He reached that island on the 23rd of March, 1791. There he seized fourteen of the mutineers, but failed to discover whither the rest had conveyed the ship, and in returning by Torres Straits, he fell in with three high, rocky islands, which he named the Murray Islands, in 9° 57′ south, and longitude 143° 42′ east. Here he was wrecked on a reef lying betwixt himself and the islands. The Pandora on being cleared of the reef by the tide, went over and sunk in 15 fathoms water. Thirty-nine men lost their lives, including four of the mutineers. The rest managed to reach Timor in four open boats in sixteen days. From the account of this voyage, published by George Hamilton, surgeon of the ship, and the chart of the Pandora, published by Dalrymple in 1798, we are enabled to see that some knowledge of this dangerous strait and of its eastern approaches was made by Captain Edwards. Besides the Murray Islands, they discovered and named Sandwich Sound and Wolf's Bay in the Prince of Wales' Islands, which they describe as safe and commodious for shipping, and having from five to seven fathoms water all round.

In the same year, 1791, Captain George Vancouver, being sent to make discoveries on the north-west coast of America, in fact, still in quest of the north-west passage, and where he left the knowledge of Vancouver's Island as the noblest result of his enterprise, touched on his passage out at Cape Graham, on the south coast of Australia, in latitude 35° 3′ south, and longitude 116° 35′ east, near where Nuyts seems to have commenced his discoveries. Following the coast eastward for two days, from September the 26th to the 28th, he anchored in a sound, to which he gave the name of King George's Sound. On landing in the sound, they found no inhabitants, but saw their deserted huts, and judged them from

the appearance of these to be the same miserable grade of people as the natives of the south-west and east coasts of the continent. From finding no remains of fish or shell-fish, and from the shyness of the birds and animals, they felt assured that they preyed chiefly on them.

Vancouver, in his account of his "Voyage round the World," describes the country in the neighbourhood of the sound as generally barren, but with fertile spots, having no considerable river, so far as he could perceive, yet having plenty of fresh water for domestic purposes. The country was pleasantly diversified in form, and well wooded, and the temperature at that season very agreeable. He saw numbers of kangaroos, and abundance of birds, amongst them black swans, wild ducks, and other aquatic birds. On the shore was plenty of fish. Unfavourable winds setting in, he quitted the sound on the 11th of October. The last land that he saw was Termination Island in latitude 34° 32′, and longitude 122° 8′. His observations strongly confirmed the correctness with which Nuyts had laid down this part of the coast.

As will be seen in our account of the Australian visit of D'Entrecasteaux in the following year, he further examined this part of the coast from South-west Cape to the longitude of Termination Island, and bore similar testimony to the accuracy of Nuyts. Termination Island was found to be one of a large group of islands to which D'Entrecasteaux gave the name of the Recherche Archipelago from his own ship. He describes the coast as extremely barren and uninviting.

In 1792 Captain Bligh was sent out again to accomplish the original object of his first voyage, namely, to convey the bread-fruit tree and other fruit trees from Tahiti to the West Indies, and to make a more complete examination of Torres Straits than it was possible to do in his passage in the launch of the Bounty. In both of these objects he was this time successful. He was furnished with his Majesty's ship Providence and the brig Assistant, commanded by Lieutenant Portlock. Of this voyage no account was published, but a chart of his dis-

coveries was lodged by Bligh in the Admiralty Office, and was incorporated by Flinders in plate xiii. of his atlas. Flinders was in the expedition, and has supplied the particulars left unrecorded by Bligh, from his own journal.

In latitude 9° 37′ south, longitude 144° 59′, they saw and named a reef Portlock's Reef. In latitude 9° 6′, and longitude 144° 13′, they were stopped by a reef which they called Bond's Reef; and the space between Portlock's and Bond's Reefs they named Bligh's Entrance. The Murray Islands were seen to the south, and a lofty island which they passed soon after, they named Darnley's Island. Here they were attacked by natives in boats while entangled amongst reefs, who shot arrows at them, and they were obliged to fire on them to prevent further aggression. Before they quitted the coast of Darnley's Island, however, some natives ventured aboard and were eager to barter for iron. Darnley Island was only one of a large group of islands. They afterwards rounded two islands, Stephens' and Campbell's Islands. They contrived to steer amidst reefs and islands, which they respectively named Dalrymple's Island, Dungeness, and Warrior's Islands; six low isles, called the Six Sisters. The natives in the several canoes from Warrior's Island again assailed them, and musketry was not enough to repel them; they were obliged to fire on them with round and grape shot from cannon. Three sailors were wounded by these ferocious islanders, one of whom died.

Captain Bligh still continued to sail amid islands and reefs which seemed to fill the channel everywhere—to the group, extending westward to longitude 142° 03′, and he gave the name of Clarence's Archipelago to the whole group. The remainder of the chief islands of this group he named Turtle-backed Island, the Cap, Banks's, and Burke's Island, Turn-again, and Jervis's Island, Mulgrave, and North Possession Island. At this last island, so called because they landed there to take possession of the whole group in the name of England,

they found two new plants, as large as mulberry-trees, one of the class *polydelphia*, having a scarlet bell-shaped flower as large as a China rose; the other a species of *erythina*, having clusters of butterfly-shaped flowers of a light yellow, tinged with purple, both entirely destitute of leaves, and their woods very brittle. The dangerous pass by which they escaped from this labyrinth of isles and reefs they named Bligh's Farewell. The careful chart by which Bligh marked his course through them was a substantial benefit to navigation. They found no further obstruction in their progress to Timor.

The voyage of Admiral D'Entrecasteaux in search of La Perouse took place at this period; but I have thought it better to let it and that of Captain Dillon for the same object, which took place many years later, stand together as explaining each other. They will have been found immediately following the voyages of Captains Cook and Furneaux, and need not, therefore, be further alluded to here.

The next in order is the voyage of Captains Bampton and Alt. These were merchant captains, well known at Sydney, and trading betwixt that port and Norfolk Island, and thence to India. Bampton had been engaged largely as a private speculator in importing cattle, sheep and goats, as well as salted beef and pork, flour, rice, grain, paddy, sugar, wine, iron, and copper for ship work, etc., from Bengal and Bombay. In 1793, it appears from Collins' "Account of New South Wales," that he had put on board at those two ports no fewer than one bull, twenty-four cows, two hundred and twenty sheep, a hundred and thirty goats, five horses, and six asses, besides a general cargo. Yet, though the voyage from Calcutta had occupied only eight weeks, he lost the greater part of the cattle. But this did not deter him; we find him immediately contracting with government for fresh importations, and in 1795 he arrived in Sydney with a cargo of cattle in a most healthy condition. Mr. Alt was the captain of the Chesterfield, a whaler, who was engaged by Bampton in this traffic, and it was the idea

of Bampton to attempt a passage through Torres Straits on their route to India, not being aware of Bligh having effected this in the preceding year. The additions which they made to the knowledge of this dangerous passage were introduced by Flinders into his account of his voyage along these coasts, from the charts of Bampton and Alt, published by Dalrymple in 1798 and 1799, as well as from Bampton's MS. Journal.

The Hormuzeer and the Chesterfield sailed together from Norfolk Island for Torres Straits, and on June 20th, 1793, they sighted Murray's Island. Their track through the straits is very minutely shown by Flinders in his Voyage, vol. i. Introduction, p. xxx. I shall, therefore, leave all the nautical bearings, and denote merely the general direction of their course. Making their way amid reefs, they steered west by south, and on the 21st they anchored off a point of land, part of New Guinea, in latitude 8° 48′. They then bore north-eastward, hoping to find a passage between New Guinea and the Lousiades, but not doing so, they veered southward, and made for Torres Straits. They approached Darnley's Island, and anchored a few leagues to the south-east of it, and the boats were sent to see if it were inhabited. They returned safely, followed by four canoes filled with natives, stout men, perfectly naked, and bearing much resemblance to the natives of Port Jackson. They exchanged bows and arrows for knives and other articles, for like the natives of New Guinea, they had bows, and they soon showed themselves as treacherous and ferocious.

Mr. Shaw, the chief mate of the Chesterfield, Mr. Carter, and Captain Hill, of the New South Wales Corps, were sent in a whale boat, with five seamen on shore, and were expected to return the next day, but four days having passed without their reappearance, though many signal guns had been fired, another boat was sent out to endeavour to clear up the mystery. This boat sailed all round the island, followed everywhere along the shore by numbers of natives, who made signs

for them to land, and when this was attempted a party in ambush made its appearance, and let fly a shower of arrows at them. They fired upon the natives in return, and one of them was killed, and some of them wounded. One of them was seen with an axe in his hand, which was known to have belonged to Mr. Carter, and it was, therefore, feared that the whole boat's crew was killed. The next day, July the 10th, an armed party of forty men was sent out, which landed, and took possession of that and the neighbouring island in the name of England. Advancing to some of the huts, they found the great coats of Captain Hill, Mr. Carter, and Mr. Shaw, which left them no doubt of the murder of the whole crew. They, therefore, made the tour of the whole island, burning and destroying 135 huts, 16 large canoes, and various plantations of sugar. They then returned to the ship, not having been able to come near the natives who had retired into the interior of the island.

They described the island as very fertile, and having extensive plantations of yams, sweet potatoes, plantains, and sugar-canes, enclosed by neat fences of bamboo, and cocoa-nut trees were very abundant. The natives were, therefore, much advanced beyond those of Australia, and their huts were of a much superior construction. They contained rude images, before some of which a kind of gum was burning, and strings of human heads and hands were hung around them. The floors of the houses were raised six feet from the ground.

On July 12th, they landed on the next island, Stephens' Island, to look for the lost whale boat. The natives were all in hostile array, blowing their conchs, and sending flights of arrows. The whole island was traversed and many huts burned, but no trace of the boat was perceived. In fact, it afterwards turned out that, though Captain Hill and four seamen were killed, the rest had escaped, and not being able to recover the ship, which was five leagues to windward, they sailed away to Timor-laout, where Mr. Carter, who had been wounded, died.

The Hormuzeer and Chesterfield pursued their way westward by Dungeness Island, Warrior's Island, Dove Island, Turtle-back Island, and the Cap, where they saw "a volcano burning with great violence." In fact, they made very much the same track as Bligh. At Turn-again Island they remained seventeen days, to procure wood, water, and refreshments; but they were disappointed of refreshments, and were compelled to distil sea water for a supply of that element. After various difficulties, they reached, on the 31st of July, open sea, having taken seventy-two days to make the same passage that Bligh and Portlock effected in nineteen; and their report of the terrors of these straits prevented any one following in their track, till this was done by Flinders, in the Investigator.

In 1794, the year preceding the voyage of Bass and Flinders in Tom Thumb, Captain John Hayes, of the Bombay Marine, put into Storm Bay, in Tasmania, with the private ships Duke and Duchess, from India. The only thing, however, which he did that D'Entrecasteaux had not done before him there, was to proceed further up the Rivière du Nord, and to give it the name of Derwent River, which it has retained. Setting aside the names of places where he touched, as given by D'Entrecasteaux, he imposed new ones of his own; and having been followed chiefly by English settlers, those names have superseded the more rightful French ones.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FOUNDING OF SYDNEY, AND THE CONSEQUENT DISCOVERIES OF BASS'S STRAITS, ETC., BY BASS AND FLINDERS.

The loss of America.—The settlement of a convict colony in Australia.—Settlement of New Holland proposed by Colonel Purry in 1723.—His proposal in vain offered to England, Holland, and France.—Cook's discoveries confirmed Purry's ideas.—Folly of establishing convict colonies at Botany Bay predicted by the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews.—Contrary views of Wedgewood and Darwin.—Darwin's views of the future of Australia.—Similar prescience of T. K. Hervey.—His verses.—These enlightened views of the artists and poets speedily realised.—In 1788, Admiral Phillip and Captain Hunter sail with a squadron and a number of convicts.—Port Jackson selected in preference.—Captain Flinders' account of the settlement of Sydney.—Survey of Botany and Broken Bays.—Voyage of adventure by Bass and Flinders in the Tom Thumb.—Beauty and advantages of youthful enthusiasm.—Bass and Flinders discover George's River.—Curious encounter with natives.—Adventures of Mr. Clarke and a boat's crew, wrecked near Cape Howe.—Bass's attempt to get over the Blue Mountains.—Shortland's discovery of the Hunter.—Adventures of Bass into the Van Diemen's Land Strait.—Discovery of runaway convicts.—Their fate.—Flinders' Voyage to Furneaux's Island, in Bass's Straits.—Finds Flinders' Island and others.—Vast numbers of seals and penguins.—Discovery of the Tamar, in Van Diemen's Land, by Bass and Flinders.—Description of Port Dalrymple.—Subsequent settlement of York Town and Launceston, on the Tamar.—Bass and Flinders sailed round Van Diemen's Land, establishing its insularity.—The strait named Bass's Strait by Governor Hunter.—Examination of Glasshouse, Hervey's, and Moreton Bays by Flinders.

THE loss of a great portion of our North American colonies, to which we had been accustomed to ship our convicts, caused the British Government to look about for some other unoccupied land, which might serve the same benevolent and statesmanlike purposes of clearing away the disturbing element at home, and transporting it to a new sphere, in which, whilst rehumanizing itself, it might lay the foundation of a new empire. The American war, closing in the year 1782, closed with it our Maryland, Jersey, and Virginia plantations; and in 1788, we opened the convict-reform and colonizing account on the south-east corner of the continent of Australia. Of the

wisdom of the measure, the British empire of the antipodes now stands a brilliant proof.

It is worth while to pause here a moment, and notice a few curious facts.

The settlement of New Holland was proposed by Colonel Purry in 1723. He contended that, in 33° south, a fertile region would be found, favourable to European colonization. He offered his theory to the British Government, then to the Dutch, and afterwards to the French. His views were submitted to the Academy of Sciences at Paris; and the same Academy which afterwards declared mesmerism a humbug, and laughed heartily at the idea of Fulton's steamboat, which he had proposed to Napoleon I., replied to Purry that they could not judge of countries they had not seen. On this silly answer of a learned but not, therefore, sagacious body, turned the chance of the possession of Australia by France. Captain Cook, in 1770, confirmed the truth of Colonel Purry's assertion, who was one of the far-seeing men too far before their time.

Those great luminaries, the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, at a much later date, talked still more inane stuff than the French Academy. "Why," said the Edinburgh Review in 1803, "are we to erect penitentiaries and prisons at the distance of half the diameter of the globe, and to incur the enormous expense of feeding and transporting its inhabitants, it is extremely difficult to discover. It is foolishly believed that the colony of Botany Bay unites our moral and commercial interests; and that we shall receive hereafter an ample equivalent, in the bales of goods, for all the vices we export." The Quarterly still later, 1814, says, "The most sanguine supporter of the New South Wales system of colonization will hardly promise himself any advantage from the produce it may be able to supply!" Only think of the wool and the gold after that oracular delivery!

On the contrary, the celebrated artist Wedgewood modelled, from clay brought from the neighbourhood of Sydney, an allegorical medallion, which represented

Hope encouraging Art and Labour under the influence of Peace; and on that medallion, Darwin wrote the following lines:—

"Where Sydney Cove her lucid bosom swells,
Courts her young navies, and the storm repels,
High on the rock, amid the troubled air,
Hope stood sublime, and waved her golden hair.
'Hear me,' she cried, 'ye rising realms! record
Time's opening scenes, and Truth's unerring word.
There shall broad streets their stately walls extend,
The circus widen, and the crescent bend;
There, rayed from cities o'er the cultured land,
Shall bright canals and solid roads expand.
Embellished villas crown the landscape scene,
Farms wave with gold, and orchards blush between:
While with each breeze approaching vessels glide,
And northern treasures dance on every tide.
"Then ceased the nymph: tumultuous echoes roar,
And joy's loud voice was heard from shore to shore.
Her graceful steps descending, pressed the plain,
And Peace, and Art, and Labour, joined the train."

Another, and more recent poet, T. K. Hervey, proclaimed beforehand the dawning greatness of Australia:

"Now on my soul the rising vision warms,
But mingled in a thousand lovely forms!
Methinks I see Australian landscapes still,
But softer beauty sits on every hill:
I see bright meadows decked in livelier green,
The yellow corn field and the blossomed bean.
A hundred flocks o'er smiling pastures roam,
And hark! the music of the harvest home!
Methinks I hear the hammer's busy sound,
The cheerful hum of human voices round:
The laughter and the song that lightens toil,
Sung in the language of my native isle!
The vision leads me on by many a stream,
And spreading cities crowd upon my dream,
Where turrets darkly frown, and lofty spires
Point to the stars and sparkle in their fires.
Here Sydney gazes from the mountain side,
Narcissus-like, upon the glassy tide.
O'er rising towns Notasian commerce reigns,
And temples crown Tasmania's lovely plains.
The prospect varies in the endless range;
Villas and lawns go by in ceaseless change:

And wafted on the gale from many a dell,
Methinks I hear the village sabbath bell!
Faith upward mounts upon devotion's wings,
And, like the lark, at heaven's pure portal sings.
From myriad tongues the song of praise is poured,
And o'er them floats the 'Spirit of the Lord!'"

The prescient visions of the inspired artist and poet were rapidly more than realised, and from this point the spirit of discovery was speedily to radiate with a most vigorous action, and one of the earliest pioneers of territorial development, Captain Flinders; thus notes its commencing movements:—"The year 1788 will ever be a memorable epoch in the history of Terra Australia. On January 18th, Captain, now Vice-Admiral, Arthur Phillip, arrived in Botany Bay with His Majesty's brig Supply, and was followed by the Sirius, Captain John Hunter, six sail of transports, and three store ships. The purpose of this armament was to establish a colony in New South Wales, over which extensive country Captain Phillip was appointed Governor and Captain-General. Botany Bay proved to be an unfavourable situation for the new Colony; it was therefore abandoned in favour of Port Jackson, which lies three leagues to the northward, and was found to be one of the finest harbours in the world.

"A history of this establishment at the extremity of the globe, in a country where the astonished settler sees nothing, not even the grass under his feet, which is not different to whatever had before met his eyes, could not but present objects of great interest to the European reader; and the public curiosity has been gratified by the perusal of various respectable publications, wherein the proceedings of the colonists, the country round Port Jackson, its productions and native inhabitants, are delineated with accuracy, and often with minuteness. The subject to be here treated is the progress of maritime geographical discovery, which resulted from the new establishment; and as the different expeditions made for this purpose are in many cases imperfectly, and in some altogether unknown, it has been judged that a circum-

stantial account of them would be useful to seamen, and not without interest to the general reader. These expeditions are, moreover, intimately connected with the Investigator's voyage, of which they were, in fact, the leading cause.

"The first advantage to maritime discovery which arose from the new settlement, was a survey of Botany and Broken Bays, and Port Jackson, with most of the rivers falling into them. Botany Bay had, indeed, been examined by Captain Cook; but of the other two harbours, the entrance alone had been seen. This survey, including the intermediate parts of the coast, was made by Captain John Hunter, and was published soon after its transmission to England, by Governor Phillip.

"In the beginning of 1795, Captain, now Vice-Admiral Hunter, sailed a second time for New South Wales, to succeed Captain Phillip in the government of the new colony. He took with him His Majesty's armed vessels, Reliance and Supply; and the author of this account, who was then a midshipman, and had not long before returned from a voyage to the South Seas, was led by his passion for exploring new countries, to embrace the opportunity of going out upon a station, which of all others presented the most ample field for his favourite pursuit.

"On arriving at Port Jackson, in September of the same year, it appeared that the investigation of the coast had not been greatly extended beyond the three harbours; and even in these some of the rivers were not altogether explored. Jervis Bay, indicated, but not named by Captain Cook, had been entered by Lieutenant Richard Bowen; and to the north, Port Stephen had been lately examined by Mr. C. Grimes, land surveyor of the colony, and by Captain W. R. Broughton, of H.M.'s ship Providence: but the intermediate portions of coast, both to the north and south, were little further known than from Captain Cook's general chart; and none of the more distant openings, marked, but not explored by that celebrated navigator, had been seen.

"In Mr. George Bass, surgeon of the Reliance, I had the happiness to find a man, whose ardour for discovery was not to be repressed by any obstacles, nor deterred by any dangers; and with this friend a determination was formed of completing the examination of the east coast of New South Wales, by all such opportunities as the duty of the ship and procurable means could admit.

"Projects of this nature, when originating in minds of young men, are usually termed romantic; and so far from any good being anticipated, even prudence and friendship join in discouraging, if not in opposing them. Thus it was in the present case; so that a little boat of eight feet long, called *Tom Thumb*, with a crew composed of ourselves and a boy, was the best equipment to be procured for the first outset."—*Introduct.* p. xcvi.

Such is the account by Captain Flinders of the opening scene of that great system of Australian exploration, which has already cost many a brave man's life, but which in the course of seventy-five years, has not only settled correctly the boundaries of the Australian continent, but has now opened up the greater part of the interior, and set wide the gates of great nations to in-streaming populations. Thanks to the beautiful enthusiasm of youth, so generally termed, as Captain Flinders justly observes, imprudence and romance; without it the progress into the untrodden wilderness, would have been slow indeed. In all such cases, the ardour of youth is the true wisdom. Dangers must be encountered; young and noble men must fall, but the gain to humanity is great, the loss to themselves is but imaginary. In a few years they do the work of generations; and pass on to higher enterprises in nobler spheres of existence. Nothing can harm or impede the immortal spirit; but the sacrifice of earthly life for the general good leaves the footprints of heroic devotion on a new land, and from its deserts and mountain-tops, the gallant-hearted pioneers of civilization stand, and beckon in history, to every young soul that has in it a seed of greatness, to follow them. Without such spots and

tracks of inspiration, a land must be a land of moral death. They are these memories of devotion and self-sacrifice, that sanctify and endear every country, that has in its heart the springs of national renown; and happy are they who are privileged to inscribe themselves on the first virgin pages of a nation's growth.

How beautiful is the contemplation of these two young men, starting forth from the official lethargy that surrounded them, and resolving to learn something of that vast and unknown land, on the margin of which their countrymen were set down like a little nest of caterpillars on the extreme leaf of some mighty tree. I can conceive no greater happiness, than was theirs, as in their little Tom Thumb of only eight feet long, they launched forth, to make acquaintance with new regions, new waters, new people, new animals and plants. To trace the river, never stirred by civilized oar, to gaze on new heavens, and feel the breezes of many thousands of unknown years blowing over the flowers at their feet, waving around them the strange new boughs which had hitherto only met the little-observant eye of the savage. O, inconceivably beautiful are the bounding pulses of such hearts! fresh in youth, quick in emotion, rich in imagination, inhaling at every breath, novelty, knowledge, and the fullest consciousness of duty and achievement. No cloud from the darkness of after years, no whispers of sadder times rise up to dim the purple glory of such hours; they are all, heaven-glorious moments of a world that soon closes in with its haunting clouds. In a few years poor Bass was wrecked and drowned, and Flinders lived to suffer much injury and chagrin; but, these happy days knew nothing of all that; they were as bright, as buoyant, as beautiful as if they were to last for ever, and they do last for ever in history, and in the memory of the departed.

In October, 1795, the month after the arrival of Lieutenant Flinders at Sidney, these two brave young men set out in Tom Thumb, and went round Botany, and ascending George's River, one of two which fell into

that bay, explored its winding course about twenty miles beyond where Governor Hunter's survey had been carried. The sketch of this river, which they presented to the Governor, produced the immediate fruit of exciting a spirit of further inquiry, and of settling a new branch of the colony under the name of Banks's Town. A voyage to Norfolk Island, which one or both of the young adventurers had to make, prevented further proceedings until March of the next year, 1796. They then sailed out of Port Jackson again in Tom Thumb, to explore a large river, said to fall into the sea some miles south of Botany Bay, but of which there was no indication in Captain Cook's chart.

How completely unknown was even the nearest coast to the members of the new colony, which had now been planted eight years, was immediately shown by the dangers which they encountered. They started on the morning of the 25th of March, and sailed southward till they supposed themselves opposite to Cape Solander, but on nearing the land, found themselves under the cliffs of Hat Hill, six or seven miles more to the southward, having been carried along by a strong current. They could neither land nor obtain shelter. Mr. Bass swam on shore to obtain a small cask of water, but before he could get the cask off the land again, the boat was driven on shore through the surf, and their arms, ammunition, clothes, and provisions, were thoroughly drenched, and partly spoiled. It was late in the evening, before they could get the boat off again, and they sought to land on some islets near Cook's Red Point, but found them inaccessible, and lay to in the boat all night under the lee of the point.

The next day they were directed by two natives, to a small stream, a few miles further southward, which they were able to enter. They sailed up about a mile, but finding these two natives now joined by eight or ten others, and knowing the ferocious character of the natives of Botany Bay, they declined to proceed any further, though the natives were vociferous, to allure

them outwards, to a lagoon, lying within view. They made a show of confidence, however, in the natives; landed and spread out their powder to dry; at the same time, while Mr. Bass engaged some of the natives to assist him in mending an oar, Lieutenant Flinders trimmed the hair and beards of the rest with a large pair of scissors. This amused them sufficiently till their powder was dried, when they hastily embarked, and in spite of all endeavours to attract them to the lagoon, fell down the stream again. The number of natives had increased to twenty, and more were every moment arriving, and it was only by stratagem that they got away. It will soon be seen that their escape was almost miraculous, for this very tribe, and amongst them one Dilba, who was present on this occasion, in the following year fell on a shipwrecked crew, and killed the chief mate and carpenter. It was with the greatest difficulty that they made their voyage back to Sydney, after an absence of eight days. They had succeeded, however, in bringing back a clear knowledge of the coast as far as they had gone; they had discovered a seam of coal to the north of Hat Hill, and had put into Port Hacking, the port and river they had set out for, and made an exact statement of its position and bearings.

The course of exploration thus originated by the two friends was interrupted by a voyage to the Cape of Good Hope. In the mean time the wreck of a vessel from India on one of Furneaux's islands had added something to the knowledge of the south coast of Australia. This vessel, the Sydney Cove, was commanded by Mr. G. A. Hamilton, and he had sent forward the supercargo, Mr. Clarke, with the chief mate and others in the long boat to Sydney to procure a vessel to carry thither the shipwrecked crew and the remains of the cargo. Clarke's boat was thrown on shore near Cape Howe, 300 miles from Sydney, and he and his little company were compelled to endeavour to reach Port Jackson by following the shore on foot. The hostile natives, however, reduced their number before reaching Sydney to Mr. Clarke, one

sailor, and one lascar; and his chief mate and carpenter, were murdered by the very natives near Botany Bay, from whom Bass and Flinders had by their good management escaped. Mr. Clarke brought to Sydney more complete information of the stratum of coal near Hat Hill, and he had noted down, besides the known bays, many small streams and inlets which had crossed his route.

Whilst these things were passing, Mr. Bass endeavoured to penetrate inland from Port Jackson, hoping to get over the mountains, but he found them impassable. He, nevertheless, discovered the course of the river Grose, and laid it down on paper. In September, 1797, Lieutenant John Shortland sailing in an armed boat to the north of Sydney in quest of some run-away convicts, discovered the Hunter river, and the coal port, which proved of such importance that it was named Newcastle.

In December of this year Mr. George Bass obtained leave to proceed southward in exploration of the coast. He was furnished with a whale boat, provisioned for six weeks, and with a crew of six seamen. With the aid of occasional supplies of petrels, fish, seals' flesh, and a few geese and black swans, he managed to extend this to eleven weeks, and during this time he ran along 600 miles of coast, frequently in very boisterous weather, in his open boat; and of this, 300 miles had not been visited before. "Our knowledge of the coast," says Flinders, "scarcely extended beyond the Ram Head, and beyond that, instead of trending southward to join itself to Van Diemen's Land, as Captain Furneaux supposed, he found it, beyond a certain point, take a direction nearly opposite, and to assume the appearance of being buffetted by an open sea." He, therefore, entertained no longer any doubt of the existence of a wide strait separating Van Diemen's Land from New South Wales. The condition of his boat, however, compelled him to return before he had practically demonstrated this.

The chief points which Bass noted on the coast during this important, and under the circumstances, unprece-

dented voyage, were these:—He sailed from Sydney on the 3rd of December, and was forced by foul winds into Port Hacking and Watta Mowlee, and again on the 5th, to stop in a small bight a little south of Alowrie. At Shoal Haven, he found a flat country which appeared to extend behind the ridge of the Blue Mountains, and to offer a route into the country in their rear, which was cut off from Port Jackson. He next examined Jervis Bay, with Bowen Island near its entrance. He then proceeded onward to Twofold Bay, but did not enter it, and so on to Point Hicks, the land first touched by Captain Cook. From this point all was new ground. For some time his voyage lay along low, swampy lands, where he saw occasionally the smoke of the natives' fires. He at length came in sight of high land trending S.W. by S., and then W.N.W., and at the point of this land there were several rocky islands. Bass believed that he had met with the high land seen by Furneaux, and that he had traversed the coast behind Hicks's Point and Furneaux's Land; but he was afterwards convinced that the position of the land seen by Furneaux was very different, and this point was therefore named by Governor Hunter Wilson's Promontory. On one of the islands he discovered seven of the run-away convicts, who had been here deserted by their companions, and had managed to subsist five weeks on petrels and a seal. Steering onward round an open bay, and along a low, sandy shore, which trended N.W. by W., and past a ridge of rocks and hills extending from thence into the interior, he discovered in the evening a spacious harbour, lying, according to the boat's run, about sixty miles N.W. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. from Furneaux's Land, and in latitude 38° 33′ south. This he named Western Port, from its relative position to the hitherto known parts of the coast. Wherever he landed on the coasts of the harbour, he found the soil to be a light brown mould, which became peaty in the lowest grounds. Grass and ferns grew luxuriantly, yet the country was but thinly timbered. On the eastern shores, there was much brush-

wood, and the soil was rich. He had much difficulty in procuring good water, which he attributed to the dry season. Only four natives were seen, and few kangaroos, but black swans rose by hundreds, and a small excellent kind of duck by thousands, and other wild fowls were in abundance.

From this point the leaky condition of his boat compelled him to put back. He called at the island near Wilson's Promontory, and took off two of the older convicts, and gave the remaining five directions for making their way to Sydney over land, as his boat could not take them. He gave them a musket, half his ammunition, hooks and lines, and a light cooking vessel. He examined the large shoal bay to the east of Wilson's Promontory, and named it Corner Inlet. Here he fell in with the five convicts, and put them across to the long beach, after which nothing more ever was heard of them: they were probably killed by the natives. He himself reached Sydney in safety on the 24th of February, 1798.

During this time Captain Flinders had made a voyage in the Francis schooner, with Captain Hamilton, to Furneaux's Islands in Bass's Straits, in order to endeavour to bring off some of the remains of the cargo of his ship which had been wrecked on Preservation Island. In this voyage he made some useful observations on the coasts which he passed along. He saw and named Green Cape, soon after passing Twofold Bay. He observed and named Kent's group of islands, and soon after the largest of the Furneaux group, since called after him Flinders Island, as well as two smaller islands called the Sisters. South of these he named the Babel Isles and Cape Barren Island. On this island they first saw and killed some of the previously unknown animals, the wombats. Flinders saw the northern point of Van Diemen's Land across Banks's Channel at about three miles' distance, the smokes which had been continually seen there having already assured him that it must be so. On Cone Point in Banks's Channel, he suddenly

came upon an astonishing number of seals, many of which the sailors killed.

This voyage enabled him to make many valuable observations on these islands, and strongly confirmed his idea that Van Diemen's Land was an island. They found some of the islands abounding with penguins, sooty petrels, or sheer-waters, which lived together in thousands, burrowing in the ground; and on Cape Barren and Clarke's Islands, the small species of kangaroos were numerous.

There now seemed to require no further proof of the existence of a passage betwixt Australia and Van Diemen's Land, than, as Flinders observed, actually to sail through it, and this opportunity was afforded to the two friends by Governor Hunter, who, in September, 1798, put at their disposal the Norfolk, a colonial sloop of twenty-five tons, for this enterprise. Twelve weeks were allowed for the voyage, and they had a crew of eight picked men. They were accompanied by the Nautilus, a merchant vessel which was sent out to kill some of the seals reported by Flinders on Furneaux's Islands. They reached Preservation Island on October the 19th. As soon as the winds permitted, they advanced westward along Banks's Channel, naming Cape Portland, Point Waterhouse and Isle Waterhouse, Ninth Island, Double Sandy Point, Tenth Island, Stony Head, Low Head, Green Island, Middle Island, and many other points, shores, and reaches to Port Dalrymple, so named by Governor Hunter in honour of Dalrymple, the celebrated hydrographer. Here they came upon a river which was afterwards named the Tamar, destined to become the great inlet to Van Diemen's Land from the south coast of Australia.

They at once saw the importance of this discovery, and were careful to mark the approaches to this port by naming the landmarks and their bearings. "If a ship came along shore from the eastward, the Ninth Island, and afterwards Stony Head, with the Tenth Island lying three or four miles to the north-west, will an-

nounce the vicinity of the Port, and Low Head will be perceived in the Bight to the S.E.W., but it is not a conspicuous object."

Flinders says that "Port Dalrymple and the River Tamar occupy the bottom of a valley, betwixt two irregular chains of hills, which shoot off north-westward from the great body of inland mountains. In some places these hills stand wide apart, and the river then opens its banks to a considerable extent, in others they nearly meet, and contract the bed to narrow limits. The Tamar has, indeed, more the appearance of a chain of lakes than of a regularly formed river," and such it probably was originally. Three or four leagues to the westward of the port, he describes the back-land as uncommonly high, and the top of the ridge is intersected with uncouth shapes. From the brilliancy of some of the mountains, on the appearance of the sun after rain, he judged them to consist of granite, like those of Furneaux's Islands.

In the low, swampy lands about the Tamar they found great numbers of black swans, wild ducks, and other water-fowl. They saw and killed also the largest species of kangaroo. Bass's account of the country, and the natives they saw there, was published in Collins's "Account of New South Wales."

The discovery of Bass and Flinders led to the settlement of a colony here in 1804, under Colonel Paterson. York-Town, at the head of the Western Arm, was settled first, and afterwards Launceston, intended as the capital, at the junction of the North and South Esks, up to which the Tamar was found navigable for vessels of 150 tons.

Proceeding westward, they saw and named Circular Head, Rocky Cape, and Table Cape. Circular Head they describe as "a cliffy, round lump, in form much resembling a Christmas cake, joined to the main by a low, sandy isthmus." Still proceeding, they saw and named Sugarloaf Hammock, Three-Hammock Island, Albatross, Trefoil and Barren Islands, to which they

gave the general name of Hunter's Isles. In latitude 40° 44′, longitude 144° 43′ east, they found themselves off Cape Grim, the north-west point of Van Diemen's Land. Their course was now S.S.E., and they soon recognised hills noticed by Tasman, which they, therefore, named Mounts Heimskerk and Zeehaan. On December 12th they had reached South-West Cape; the next day they were off South Cape, and on the 14th anchored in North Bay of D'Entrecasteaux. From this they sailed into a bay which they named Norfolk Bay, and thence into the Derwent. On the 21st they anchored in nine fathoms off Cape Direction. From this point their course up the eastern coast was along pretty well explored ground, and having reached the Babel Isles, they steered away for Cape Howe on the mainland. On the 11th of January they reached Port Jackson, having solved the great question of the insularity of Van Diemen's Land, and at the desire of Flinders the name of the strait separating the island from the continent was pronounced by Governor Hunter, Bass's Strait, in honour of the man who had run such dangers to prove the truth of his conviction of the existence of such a passage.

In the June of the same year Captain Flinders was sent again in the sloop Norfolk, to make an examination of Glass-house and Hervey's Bays, as well as of Moreton Bay. The results of this examination were published by Collins, after which he proceeded to England, and there received a commission to return and undertake a complete survey of the coasts of Australia.

CHAPTER X.

THE SURVEY OF THE SOUTH-EASTERN AND NORTHERN COASTS OF AUSTRALIA BY CAPTAIN FLINDERS.

Flinders sailed in the Investigator from Sheerness in January, 1801, accompanied by Westall the painter, Bauer, natural-history painter, and Robert Brown, the botanist.—Reached Cape Leeuwin in December.—Recent traces of Europeans on that coast.—Recherche Archipelago.—Lucky Bay.—Enormous nests of a bird.—Sailed along the great Australian Bight.—Survey of the coast eastward to Cape Catastrophe.—The loss of Mr. Thistle, master of the vessel, and a whole boat's crew.—Singular prediction of this catastrophe.—Survey thence to Kangaroo Island.—A kangaroo paradise.—Investigator's Strait.—Montgomery's Pelican Island.—In Encounter Bay Flinders finds Captain Baudin of the French ship Geographe.—The discoveries of Flinders subsequently claimed by Napoleon I. for Baudin.—The Terre Napoleon.—Discoveries of Captain Grant.—Cape Otway.—Discovery of the harbour of Port Philip by Lieutenant Murray.—Re-discovery by Flinders.—Careful examination of it by Flinders.—View from Station Peak by Flinders.—His description of Port Phillip.—Return to Sydney.—Flinders proceeds up the east coast northward from Sydney.—His discoveries along that coast.—Enters Torres Straits—Surveys the Gulf of Carpentaria.—His discoveries in the Gulf.—Skirmish with the natives at Woodah Island.—Discovery of the Melville Isles.—The Bromley Isles.—Old chart of the Gulf.—Annual visits of the people of Macassar to the north coast of Australia.—Wessel's Islands.—Proceed to Timor and Sydney.—FRESH VOYAGE OF FLINDERS, and wreck on the Barrier Reef.—Base conduct of Captain Palmer, of the Bridgewater.—The men and stores landed on a sand-bank.—Return of Flinders in an open boat to Sydney.—Rescue of the crew.—Captivity of Flinders in the Mauritius.—Base treatment of him there.—Ungrateful treatment by the English Government.—Invaluable services of Flinders in these surveys.—Accompanied by Sir John Franklin in some of these voyages.

As the greater part of the work done by Flinders on the coasts of Australia was not so much that of making new discoveries, as in correcting those which had been made by others, in laying down exactly the proper longitudes and latitudes, in ascertaining distances, in making soundings, and noting the variations of the compass, the currents, tides, and winds, they are to be studied in his own volumes. There they are invaluable, and in the charts and maps into which they have been introduced. Here it is not necessary to notice these, nor his movements in general, except where he made actual new discoveries of places.

In January, 1801, his commission was signed at the

Admiralty, and the sloop Investigator was put under his command at Sheerness. He was promoted to the rank of Commander; twelve six-pounders, with the requisite ammunition, and a chest of fireworks, were put on board. Some of the guns were afterwards removed, and some light carronades, which could be used on deck, were substituted. He was liberally supplied with astronomical and surveying instruments, and books. Many of these latter were furnished by Sir Joseph Banks, and all the charts at the Admiralty relating to Australia and the neighbouring islands were copied for him under the direction of Alexander Dalrymple, the hydrographer, who added such of his works as were appropriate to the voyage. In men and officers he had a complement of eighty-eight. The men were all picked men, and amongst the literary and scientific gentlemen appointed we find William Westall, as landscape painter, Frederick Bauer, natural-history painter, and Robert Brown, botanist, to whom we are indebted for the first work on the botany of Australia, The astronomer was John Crosley. They had on board four chronometers, by Earnshaw and Arnold, and a chronometer watch by each of these makers. The importance of this may be inferred from Flinders' own remark: "Time-keepers were in their infancy in 1768, when Captain Cook sailed upon his first voyage, and he was not then furnished with them. His longitude was, therefore, regulated only by occasional observations of lunar distances, and some few of Jupiter's satellites, which even in the present improved state of instruments and tables, require to be corrected by time-keepers before satisfactory conclusions can be drawn. Errors of greater or less magnitude were, therefore, unavoidable. At Cape Gloucester, where I quitted the east coast, my longitude was $20\frac{1}{2}'$ greater than Captain Cook's chart; at Cape York, where the survey was again resumed, it was $58\frac{1}{2}'$; and to incorporate the immediate parts, it was necessary not only to carry his scale of longitude $20\frac{1}{2}'$ more west, but also to reduce the extent of the coast." Besides these he no-

tices other very considerable inaccuracies in Cook's distances.

The Investigator sailed from Spithead on the 18th of July, 1801; and sailing by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, struck the southern coast of Australia at Cape Leeuwin on Monday, the 7th of December. Sailing eastward, he came to anchor in Princess Royal Harbour, near Bold Head, in King George's Sound. They made search for a bottle and parchment left there by Captain Vancouver in 1791, but could see no trace of them. They observed, however, that trees had been felled with axe and saw since Captain Vancouver had been there; and the mystery was explained by finding a sheet of copper on the east side of the harbour, with this inscription:—"August 27, 1800. Chr. Dixon—Ship Elligood." Here they laid in wood and water, and saw kangaroos, emus, and natives, as well as one of the enormous eagle nests already mentioned. They observed, also, one of those extraordinary lizards met with by Dampier on the west coast, which appeared to have a head at each of its extremities, at the tail end having a lump like a head, but really not a head. Flinders describes the iguanas there as the most ugly and revolting that he had seen in any part of the world. The natives did not appear to strike out any of their front teeth, nor to use the womerah in throwing the spear.

On the 5th of January, they quitted the Sound for Recherche Archipelago, and as D'Entrecasteaux, who discovered this group of islands and rocks, only skirted them, Flinders sailed right through the midst of them, to note and describe them and their positions carefully, which he did. Finding no possibility of standing off and on during the night amid this great labyrinth of isles, and rocks, and reefs, he made for the main land, and found good anchorage, in what he called Lucky Bay. Going on land, he found all sandy and barren, but abounding with flowering shrubs and plants, most attractive to the botanists. From an elevated point, he could count within view forty-five islands and clusters of rocks, besides patches of breakers, where nothing appeared above

water. The people eat of the fruit of the *Zamia spiralis*, the kind of nuts which Captain Cook found on the east coast, and which produced here the same injurious effects. Flinders saw some of the enormous nests before mentioned, which he now began to attribute to a kind of eagle. A cape on the main land he named Cape Pasley, and another more eastward, Point Malcolm; and on leaving the archipelago, some rocky heights on land were called Mount Ragged. Other points, in sailing north-eastward, were named Points Culver and Dover. They then entered the great Australian Bight, the coast exhibiting long ranges of rocky cliff. The head of the Great Bight he determined to lie in latitude 31° 29′ south, and longitude 131° 10′ east. On reaching Nuyts Reefs, in latitude 32° 2′ south, and longitude 132° 18′ east, he entered on entirely unexplored coast, except as regarded the isles of St. Peter and St. Francis. Besides Point Bell and the Purdie Isles, he named afterwards, along the coast, Lacy's, Evans's, and Franklin's Isles, Point Brown, Cape Bauer, Point Westall, and Cliffy Head. Next came Smoky and Petrel Bays, Cape Radstock, Point Weyland, the Waldegrave and Topgallant Isles. Many of these lie in a great bay, which he named Anxious Bay. Next, a number of isles were examined, and named under the general head of Investigator's Group. After these were named Point Sir Isaac Newton, Coffin's Bay, Mount Greenly, and the Whidby Point and Isles. Near a point, which Flinders named Cape Catastrophe, he anchored off an island, which he named Thistle Island, from the melancholy accident of the loss of Mr. Thistle, the master of the vessel, who, with the crew of the cutter, was swamped in returning from the mainland.

When Mr. Thistle and the cutter's crew were missing, Mr. Fowler told Captain Flinders the following extraordinary circumstance, which proved itself true to the letter, not only in the present occurrence, but in every other during the remainder of the voyage. "Whilst," said Lieutenant Fowler. "we were lying at Spithead,

Mr. Thistle was one day waiting on shore, and having nothing else to do, he went to a certain old man, named Pine, to have his fortune told. The cunning man informed him that he was going out on a long voyage, and that the ship, on arriving at her destination, would be joined by another vessel. That such was intended, he might have learned privately, but he added that Mr. Thistle would be lost before the other vessel joined. As to the manner of his loss, the magician refused to give any information. My boat's crew, hearing what Mr. Thistle said, went also to consult the wise man, and after the prefatory information of a long voyage, were told that they would be shipwrecked, but not in the ship they were going out in. Whether they would escape and return to England, he was not permitted to reveal."

Captain Flinders continued his course eastward, naming too many bays, points, and islands to be enumerated here. The chief were Port Lincoln, Sir Joseph Banks's Group, Mount Brown, Hardwicke Bay, Spencer's Gulf, Gulf of St. Vincent, and the Althorpe and Kangaroo Islands. They landed and made observations at different places, particularly at Port Lincoln and Spencer's Gulf.

Kangaroo Island proved to be a large one. Flinders says he ran along seventy miles of its coast, and on landing, he found it only inhabited by kangaroos and seals, besides birds. It was, and appeared to have been from time immemorial, a kangaroo paradise. There, amidst woods and pleasant meadows, they lived, defended from man by the strait betwixt it and the mainland, twenty-five miles wide. They were so tame as to suffer themselves to be knocked down with sticks, and great numbers of them, some of them weighing one hundred and twenty-five pounds, were slaughtered. Captain Flinders, however, observed the traces of conflagrations on both this and others of these islands, and wondered how they had occurred. Whether some wandering voyagers had really landed there years before; whether La Perouse was the man, before reaching Botany Bay; or whether

the grass or trees had taken fire from lightning or the friction of boughs? He might just as well have asked how the kangaroos came there across the ocean.

The strait betwixt Kangaroo Island and the mainland he named Investigator's Strait. After exploring the Gulf of St. Vincent, they returned to Kangaroo Island, and found a generation of pelicans at a pelican lagoon, as numerous as the kangaroos. From this account, James Montgomery imagined his "Pelican Island."

In Encounter Bay—the bay on which Adelaide, the present capital of South Australia, is situated—Flinders met with a French ship of discovery, Le Geographe, commanded by Captain Baudin, and he named the bay from that circumstance. Though the two nations were at war, the commanders mutually produced their passports, and were very friendly. They exchanged accounts of their discoveries. Captain Baudin said he had been along the south and east coasts of Van Diemen's Land, and had traced the south coast of Australia from Western Port to their place of meeting. Great was Captain Flinders' astonishment, on his return to Europe some years after, to find that French charts had been published by the government of Napoleon I., ascribing to Baudin not only what he had discovered between Western Port and Encounter Bay, but all which Flinders had discovered in Bass's Straits, and all the way to Nuyts Archipelago; and had given to this extensive range of coast the name of *Terre Napoleon*. "My Kangaroo Island," says Flinders, "a name which they openly adopted in the expedition, has been converted in Paris into *L'Isle Decrés*; Spencer's Gulf is named *Golfe Buonaparte*; the Gulf of St. Vincent, *Golfe Josephine*; and so on along the whole coast to Cape Nuyts; not even the smallest island being left without some similar stamp of French discovery." Captain Flinders absolves M. Peron, the historian of the voyage of Le Geographe, from the charge of this wholesale plagiarism. He says, "I believe his candour to have been equal to his acknowledged abilities, and that what he wrote was from overruling

authority, and smote him to the heart. He did not live to finish the second volume."

This audacious aggression served Napoleon as little as his still more wholesale ones—the justice and the indignation of posterity have reversed the whole of the fraudulent assumptions. In proceeding eastward, Captain Flinders gave to such places as Captain Baudin had first noticed the names which he had attached to them, as Cape Bernouilli, Cape Jaffa, Baudin's Rocks, Rivoli Bay, Cape Lannes, and Carpenter's and Bouffler's Rocks. This, he says, is the whole extent of the *Terre Napoleon*, which is therefore "comprised between the latitudes 37° 36′ and 35° 40′ south, and the longitudes 140° 10′ and 138° 58′ east, making, with the windings, about fifty leagues of coast, in which, as Captain Baudin truly observes, there is neither river, inlet, nor place of shelter, nor does even the worst part of Nuyts Land exceed it in sterility."—*Flinders' Voyage*, vol. i. p. 201.

At this point Captain Flinders, on arriving at Port Jackson, learned that Captain Grant, of the Lady Nelson, had terminated an examination of the coast, commenced eastward beyond Port Phillip; and though he had examined it himself, he gave the proper precedence to Captain Grant, as he had done to Captain Baudin, and inserted the names of places fixed by Captain Grant in his chart. Captain Flinders adds, that the narrative of Captain Grant's voyage was published four years before that of Captain Baudin, by M. Peron, and was well known in Paris; but no notice whatever was taken of it by Peron, but its discoveries appropriated equally with those of himself.

The first place named by Grant which came into view, was Cape Northumberland, and two inland mountains lying to the north-east, Mount Schanck, and Mount Gambier: the latter close on the eastern boundary line of the present South Australia. Then followed in succession, Capes Bridgewater, Nelson and Grant, the Lawrence Isles, and Lady Julia Percy's Isle. Arriving in Bass's Straits, they sought out and landed on the south-

east end of King's Island. The south of this island had been discovered by Mr. Reid in a whaling expedition, in 1799, and the north by Mr. John Black, commander of the brig Harbinger, in 1801, who named it. On this island they killed several wombats and small kangaroos.

From King's Island Captain Flinders bore northward across the channel to Cape Otway. "The whole of this land," he says, "is high, the elevation of the uppermost parts being not less than 2000 feet. The rising hills were covered with wood of a deep green foliage, and without any vacant spaces of rock or sand, so that I judged this part of the coast to exceed in fertility all that had yet fallen under my observation." Cape Otway is generally the first portion of Australia which meets the gaze of voyagers from Europe to Victoria, and consequently the description of Captain Flinders will recall to tens of thousands their own first impressions of the new south land. Steering on eastward, he saw the ridge of hills rising at Cape Schank, and his account of his discovery of the bay of Port Phillip is too interesting not to be given in his own words.

"On the west side of a rocky point there was a small opening with breaking water across it: however, on advancing a little more westward, the opening assumed a more interesting aspect, and I bore away to have a nearer view. A large extent of water presently became visible within side; and although the entrance seemed to be very narrow, and there were in it strong ripplings, like breakers, I was induced to steer in at half-past one, the ship being close upon a wind, and every man ready for tacking at a moment's warning. The soundings were irregular between six and seven fathoms, until we got four miles within the entrance, when they shoaled quickly to two and three quarters. We tacked, and having a strong tide in our favour, worked to the eastward between the shoal and the rocky point, with twelve fathoms for the deepest water. In making the last stretch from the shoal, the depth diminished from ten fathoms quickly to three, and before the ship could come round, the flood

tide set her upon a mud bank, and she stuck fast. A boat was lowered down to sound, and finding the deep water lie to the north-west, a kedge-anchor was carried out; and having got the ship's head in that direction, the sails were filled, and she drew off with six and ten fathoms: and it being then dark, we came to an anchor.

"The extensive harbour we had thus unexpectedly found, we supposed must be Western Port, although the narrowness of the entrance did by no means correspond with the width given to it by Mr. Bass. It was the information of Captain Baudin, who had coasted along from thence with fine weather, and had found no inlet of any kind which induced this supposition; and the very great extent of the place agreeing with that of Western Port, was in confirmation of it. This, however, was not Western Port, as we found next morning; and I congratulated myself on having made a new and useful discovery; but here again I was in error. This place, as I afterwards learned at Port Jackson, had been discovered ten weeks before by Lieutenant John Murray, who had succeeded Captain Grant in the command of the Lady Nelson. He had given it the name of PORT PHILLIP, and to the rocky point on the east side of the entrance, that of Point Nepean."

The discovery was entirely new on the part of Flinders: he had yet to learn that though Bass and himself, Baudin, and Grant, had passed this great basin, and highway to the capital of Victoria unobserved, it had been recently found by Lieutenant Murray. Flinders and his officers in the morning looked round them with all the pleasure of real discoverers. They saw the hill which Lieutenant Murray had named Arthur's Seat, from a fanciful resemblance to a hill of that name at Edinburgh. This lay S. 76° E. from them at the distance of ten miles, and the shore trending away northward so far that the head of the bay could not be seen. They rowed thither, ascended the hill, and were astonished to find the bay still stretching away so far northward, that its head, even at that elevation, could not yet be discerned.

Opposite to them, on the western shore of the bay, and at the distance of ten or eleven miles from the entrance, they observed a bluff, which they named Indented Head, and beyond it a wide branch of the port, leading to the westward. At the distance of five leagues eastward, they saw from the hill a large sheet of water, seeming to communicate with the sea southwards, which they believed to be Western Port. They found Arthur's Seat, and the hills and valleys in the neighbourhood, well wooded, and the soil superior to any which they had seen near the sea anywhere in Australia. There were marks of natives, especially in heaps of oyster shells.

Flinders made considerable observations of the depth and extent of the eastern side of the bay, and then crossed to Indented Head. He sailed along the western arm of the bay, till he could perceive that it had no outlet to the sea, and he then crossed and landed on the northern bank, saw there some friendly natives, and advanced to the highest part of the hills, called Station Peak. From this summit he obtained a general view of the bay, which he calculated to extend, at least thirty miles from north to south, and the western arm to be thirty-six miles long. The land along this western arm, he says, was low, covered with small-bladed grass, and the soil clayey and shallow. There was very little wood on the plains, which made it easy for a traveller to penetrate inland.

From his situation on Station Peak, Captain Flinders must see the uplands, on or near which Melbourne now stands, and great must have been his astonishment, had some spirit manifested itself, and informed him, that within thirty-three years, a city would be founded at the head of that bay, which in less than thirty more years, would number 100,000 of population; would have its port crowded with vessels from all parts of the world; and would form the capital of a state whose export and import trade would average £30,000,000 annually. That over these solitary plains and woodlands, where then wandered a few naked savages, in pursuit of the

solitary emu and kangaroo, the restless swarms of civilized man would spread their countless flocks and herds, would subject vast extent of lands to the plough, and rush to and fro, in the eager quest of gain and pleasure on railways and steam ships. All then was as lonely as it had been from the day of creation, and a nature capable of supporting civilized millions, with all their wants and aspirations, exhibited nothing more stirring than the feeble skirmish, or the grotesque corroborie of the ever-stationary savage.

In tracing his way out of this magnificent port, Captain Flinders found a passage a mile wide, betwixt the middle bank and the western shore, but which required careful navigating. He followed the black swans into what Lieutenant Murray had called Swan Harbour, but which he named Swan Point, but found it full of mud-banks, and having seldom more than three or four feet of water.

He says:—"I find it very difficult to speak in general terms of Port Phillip. On the one hand, it is capable of receiving a larger fleet of ships than ever went to sea; whilst on the other, the entrance, in its whole width, is scarcely two miles, and nearly half of it is occupied by the rocks lying off Point Nepean, and by shoals on the opposite side, etc. * * * No rivers of fresh water were seen in my excursions; but Mr. Charles Grimes, Surveyor-General of New South Wales, afterwards found several, and in particular, a small river falling into the northern head of the port. * * * The country surrounding Port Phillip has a pleasing, and in many parts, a fertile appearance; and the sides of some of the hills, and several of the valleys are fit for agricultural purposes. This, in a great measure, is a grassy country, and capable of supporting much cattle, though better calculated for sheep. * * * The most common kinds of wood, are the casuarina and eucalyptus, the banksia, mimosa, and some others; but the timber is rarely sound, and is not large Were a settlement to be made at Port Phillip, as doubtless there will be some

time hereafter, the entrance could be easily defended."—Vol. i. p. 218.

From Port Phillip to Sydney there was nothing for Flinders to do. His own and Bass's observations, preceded by those of Cook, had since been succeeded by those of Grant and Murray. He notes the names given by Grant to Point Grant, to Cape Wallamai by Bass, and again by Grant to Cape Liptrap, the Rodondo Rock, and a few other minor names, and he made the best of his way to Port Jackson, where he announced his discoveries, and prepared for the further prosecution of his voyage up the eastern coast. There he again met with the French captain, Baudin, and entertained him and his officers to dinner on board his ship. The Investigator was put into complete repair, and the Lady Nelson, commanded by Lieutenant Murray, was ordered, according to instructions from home, to attend him. He also took with him a native, named Bongaree, and a native boy named Nanlearee, who understood English.

Having taken twelve weeks at Sydney for refitting and storing the ships, on the morning of July 22nd, 1802, the Investigator and Lady Nelson, sailed out of harbour together. On the 7th of August, they saw and named Port Curtis; and on the 21st, they discovered Port Bowen. On the 28th they entered and examined Shoalwater Bay. By the time they reached Pentecost Island, on the 17th of October, the Lady Nelson was found so unfit for the service, that she was sent back, and the Investigator proceeded alone. On the 28th of that month, Flinders anchored off one of Murray's Islands at the mouth of Torres Straits. The natives came off in boats, and made eager signs for traffic, calling out touree! touree! erin! and making indications by chopping with the edge of their hands on their arms, that they wanted hatchets. Captain Flinders remembering the treachery of the natives on Darnley's Islands, kept the marines armed, guns cleared, and matches lighted, watching at the same time the movements of every canoe, so long as they continued in sight of them.

In proceeding, taught by the experience of preceding navigators, he kept as much to the southward of Cape York, as the direction of the reefs would admit.

On a small island which he named Halfway Island, they observed a curious mode of procuring water by the natives, who occasionally visited it; for there was no other water in it. Strips of bark were reared against the stems of the pandanus trees, and the lower ends of these were conveyed into shells of the gigantic muscle, each of which would hold two or three pints. Thus the rain running down the branches and stems of the pandanus trees, and forty or fifty shells being placed under different trees, they could easily collect water enough for a considerable party.

Proceeding westward, making exact observations of the latitude and longitude, the bearings of the different points and islands, the depth of water, and the direction of tides and currents, as well as of the variations of the needle, Captain Flinders now made a close survey of the Gulf of Carpentaria, correcting some of the positions of former voyagers. On the Horseshoe Island, in the Wellesly group, they noticed that the natives had no bows and arrows, and that they had lost two of the upper front teeth, though nothing of the kind had been observed in the natives of Torres Straits, of Keppel, and Hervey's Islands, or Glass-house Bay. At these islands it was discovered that the ship was in a very unsound state, and that it was necessary to get back to Port Jackson as soon as possible.

What had before been called Cape Van Diemen at the bottom of the Gulf, near the eastern end, was now found to be a cluster of islands, which Flinders named the Wellesly Islands; and Vandelin Cape, near the centre of the bottom of the Gulf, was found also to consist of islands, which he named the Pellew Islands. They observed that the lands along the mainland there were tolerably woody, but apparently not very fertile, and the islands still less so, and often merely bare rock or sand. They produced, however, cabbage-palms, but generally

of a new species called by Mr. Brown *Levistona inermis*, the cabbages being too small to afford much food to a ship's company, but of the leaves the seamen made handsome summer hats. There was also indigenous, an inferior sort of nutmeg. There were some kangaroos, and plenty of turtle on these islands. Indications of visitors more advanced in the arts of life than the natives were frequent. There were earthen jars, and trees cut with axes, remnants of bamboo lattice-work, and palm-leaves sewed with cotton-thread into hats of a Chinese fashion. There were remains of blue cotton trowsers, of charcoal fires, of boats' rudders, a wooden anchor of one fluke, and in one place a kind of stone wall. These things occasioned them much wonder. The flies and musquitoes were intolerable—"the flies settling," says Flinders, "on the face, and darting into the mouth and nose, with as much unconcern as they would alight on a gum-tree, nor were they easily driven away."

Cape Maria, in the south-west corner of the Gulf of Carpentaria, Flinders found also to be an island, and he made considerable corrections in Limmen's Bight, discovered Bickerton's and Barrow's Islands, and Connection Islands. Various Islands were found scattered around Groote Eylandt, some of which the Dutch charts represent as parts of the mainland. Somewhat north of these islands they discovered Blue-Mud Bay. On an island thence called Morgan's Island, at the mouth of this bay, near Woodah Island, they had an affray with the natives while cutting wood, in which two of the men lost their lives, and Mr. Westall, the artist, was in great danger. In Caledon Bay, still more to the north, they found the natives thievish and unmanageable; the country was poor, and they discovered that the natives, as well as those of the islands about Groote Eylandt, and of the Wellsly group, practised circumcision.

Quitting the Gulf of Carpentaria at Cape Arnhem, they sailed N.W., and saw and named Mounts Saunders and Dundas, and a group of isles which they named

Melville Isles. They also explored and named Melville Bay, as unnoticed in the Dutch charts. The country still appeared but poor; kangaroos were rather numerous, and they observed pigeons, black and white, cockatoos black and white, a beautiful paroquet, new to them, a black bird of the size and appearance of a hen, blue and white cranes, and many aquatic birds. At Cape Wilberforce, where they saw and named the Bromley Isles, they quitted the Gulf—"the examination of it," says Flinders, "being finished, after employing one hundred and five days in coasting along its shores, and exploring its bays and islands. The extent of the Gulf in longitude, from Endeavour Strait to Cape Wilberforce, is $5\frac{1}{2}°$, and in latitude 7°, and the circuit, excluding the numerous islands and the openings, is little less than four hundred leagues. It will be remarked that the form of it given in the old charts is not very erroneous, which proves it to have been the result of a real examination, but as no particulars were known of the discovery of the south and western parts, not even the name of the author, though opinion ascribed it with reason to Tasman, so the chart was considered as little better than a representation of Fairyland, and did not obtain the credit which it was now proved to have merited. Henceforth the Gulf of Carpentaria will take its station amongst the conspicuous parts of the globe in a decided character."

Scarcely had the Investigator issued from the Gulf when the voyagers came upon a party which explained the mystery of the signs of art along the coast beyond that of the natives. There were six or seven prows from Macassar, part of a fleet of sixty, containing a thousand men, belonging to the Rajah of Boni, who made an annual voyage to these islands for the trepang, or sea-cucumbers, which they dry and smoke, and sell to the Chinese. They had two small brass cannons, muskets and daggers as arms, and reported that they frequently had skirmishes with the natives.

Flinders made an exploration amongst the English

Company's Islands, laying them down more correctly, and naming several of them. After that he explored and named Arnhem Bay, which had been incorrectly laid down, but not named in the Dutch charts. They found the country and productions on its coasts very similar to those of the coasts they had lately skirted. The Wessel's Eylandt of the Dutch he found to consist not of one island, but of a group, and named them Wessel's Islands. From this point they set sail for Timor, in order to procure provisions necessary for the remainder of the voyage round to Port Jackson. From Timor Captain Flinders was able to dispatch to England an account of his discoveries. After a stay of eight days at Coepang, they once more set sail for the west coast of Australia, and on the voyage made a careful search for the celebrated Trial Rocks, but failed to find them in the positions assigned to them by the Dutch. On Saturday, the 14th of May, they sighted Cape Leeuwin, and on the 17th they anchored off Middle Island in Goose-Island Bay, Recherche Archipelago. From hence, though Flinders made careful observations of the coasts as he proceeded, there were no discoveries to make. He reached Sydney on the 9th of June, where the Investigator was examined, and condemned.

By this voyage the whole of the maritime coasts of Australia may be said to have been tolerably defined; but Flinders was by no means satisfied with the examination that he had bestowed on the dangerous Straits of Torres. Once more, therefore, he set sail with this object, in the armed vessel Porpoise, on the 10th of July, 1803, accompanied by the East Indiaman, Bridgewater, Mr. E. J. Palmer, Captain, and the ship Cato, of London, Mr. John Parker, Captain. Unfortunately, they were very soon wrecked on the Wreck Reefs, a portion of the great Barrier Reef which runs for so many hundred miles at some distance, but parallel with the north-east coast of New South Wales. Wreck Reef was found to be in latitude 22° 11′ south, and lati-

tude 155° 3′ east, or near it. The Cato also was wrecked, and Captain Palmer of the Bridgewater sailed away in a most unfeeling manner, leaving the survivors of the two wrecks on the rocks to perish. They did not perish, however; with the exception of three boys belonging to the Cato, all escaped, and Captain Flinders landed both crews on a sandbank, which lay, on an average, three or four feet above high-water mark, and extended in length about 150 fathoms, and fifty in breadth. Here they set up tents and the British flag, and got from the wrecks ample stores to maintain the people while Captain Flinders returned along the coast to Sydney in the largest cutter.

He left Wreck-Reef on this hazardous expedition, with a few men on the 26th of August, and reached Sydney on the 8th of September. On the 21st he again set sail in return to the reef, with the ship Rolla bound for Canton, which had orders to take on board the survivors of the wreck, and convey them to China, whence they might re-ship for England. With the Rolla went the schooners Cumberland and Francis. In the Francis, such of the people who might object to proceed home by way of China, were to return to Sydney; in the Cumberland, Captain Flinders was to go home by the Cape, as he was anxious to use all expedition in laying his papers before the home government. In six weeks from the time that he had left the sand-bank, on which his people were encamped, Captain Flinders reached it again. The arrangements made for the transport of the two crews were carried out according to order, and Captain Flinders set sail for Europe in the Cumberland schooner, with ten officers and men. The Cumberland had been discovered to be in bad sailing condition, but the anxiety of Captain Flinders to reach England, and clear himself from all blame, overcame his prudence. Moreover, Governor King had strongly remonstrated against his intention of putting into Mauritius on his way for provisions, trusting to his passport from Napoleon. Captain Flinders did put in there, and was

immediately made prisoner of war. General De Caen, the French Governor, totally regardless of the passport, and of the treatment which Baudin and his officers had received at Sydney, not only seized the Cumberland, but Captain Flinders' papers and log-book also. He remained a prisoner of war, sometimes at Port Louis, sometimes at Garden Prison, and during the latter part of his detention at Wilhelm's Plains.

It was on the 17th of December, 1803, that Captain Flinders was made prisoner at Port Louis, in the Mauritius, and he did not obtain his liberty till the 7th of June, 1809, having undergone a captivity of six years, five months, and twenty-seven days. Long before, all those who had sailed from the sand-bank, had happily reached their destinations, the anxiety of the captain to use extraordinary quickness, had ended in the fulfilment of the adage, most haste the worse speed. He had the mortification to find, on arriving in Europe, that his detention had not been without an object on the part of Napoleon's government. His discoveries on the coasts of Australia, through the means of his seized charts and papers, had been regularly transferred to Captain Baudin, and published by M. Peron under Buonaparte's authority. There is no doubt that amongst the numberless schemes of Napoleonic ambition, the possession of Australia was one, and hence its southern coasts were transposed into *Terre Napoleon*. Time, and the fall of the unprincipled adventurer, have set all this right, and the long personal trials and chagrins of Captain Flinders have been recompensed by a just acknowledgment of his services in determining the true bearings and character of the Australian coasts.

The recompense, however, has been made rather to his fame than to himself, for to the end of his life he suffered, and that from his own government most unjustly, for his misfortune of falling into the hands of the French. Mr. Lloyd, in his "Thirty-three years in Tasmania and Victoria," says of Flinders:—"His maps and observations upon the prevailing winds and currents,

and the rocks and harbours of our Antipodian colonies, were all so remarkably accurate in their details, that to a ship-master bound to Australia, Flinders' book is deemed almost as essential as the chronometer itself. And how was he repaid?

"As if in derision of these eminent services, the British government refused to endow his poor widow and daughter with the usual pension allotted to the families of deceased naval officers, and this on the ground that the six years' imprisonment at the Isle of France of Lieutenant Flinders, could not be reckoned in the term of service entitling families to receive government aid. Should any of the heroic navigator's near relations be still in existence, it would be a popular act of grace on the part of our enlightened sovereign, to evince to his heirs the gratitude of a great nation in some substantial form, as a tribute justly due to the patriotic Flinders." —P. 25.

It is a fact which ought not to be omitted here, that the worthy Sir John Franklin accompanied Flinders in his voyage of discovery, and was at Sydney when the first party left that port to colonize Tasmania.

CHAPTER XI.

IMPULSE OF DISCOVERY GIVEN BY THE SETTLEMENT OF SYDNEY.

Sailing of the squadron conveying convicts.—Number of these.—The voyages occupying eight months.—Botany Bay found unfit.—Sydney founded in Port Jackson.—Magnificence of the bay.—Character of the environs.—Progress of discovery from this centre.—Middleton's Island.—Mulgrave Islands.—River Hawkesbury.—Colonel Collins sent to found a settlement at Port Phillip, but proceeded to Tasmania and founded Hobart Town.

THE great event which led to the internal still more than the external discovery of Australia, was the settlement of a British community at Port Jackson. This, as is well known, arose not from any desire on the part of the English people for emigration, nor on that of the government for founding new states. It was the simple expression of a necessity for clearing away from home a pressing amount of convictism, and of thus giving to this corrupt portion of society a means of regeneration which was impossible to it amidst the dense population and the temptations of English cities. A location was looked for which should supply the loss of that torn from us by the American war of independence: some country remote, unoccupied, at least by civilized races, and ample enough for the development of a great nation. Such was Australia, then little known, or otherwise cared for, and this site of a new penal colony was adopted.

On the 13th of May, 1787, the squadron destined to convey to those distant shores the nucleus of a new world, sailed forth from the Motherbank, within the Isle of Wight. It consisted of his Majesty's frigate, Sirius, Captain John Hunter, and his Majesty's armed tender, Supply, commanded by Lieutenant H. L. Ball. Three store ships, the Golden Grove, Fishburn, and Borrowdale, carrying instruments of husbandry, clothing for the troops and convicts, and other necessaries; and lastly, six

transports, the Scarborough, Lady Penrhyn, Friendship, Charlotte, Prince of Wales, and Alexander.

On board the principal ships were, besides the commanders, Hunter and Ball, Captain Arthur Phillip, commodore of the squadron during the voyage out, and governor of the new colony on his arrival there; Major Robert Ross went out as lieutenant governor; Richard Johnson, as chaplain; Andrew Millar, as commissary; David Collins, judge advocate; John Long, adjutant; James Frazer, quartermaster; George Alexander, provost marshal; John White, surgeon; Thomas Arndell and William Balmain, assistant surgeons; Lieutenant John Shortland, agent for the transports.

Such were the officers of the embryo colony, some of whom have left their names stamped for ever in various localities of these colonies. The number of this first batch of convicts amounted to 850; namely, 600 men and 250 women. Two of the men, however, received a full pardon before the departure of the fleet, leaving the real number of convicts, 848. The full complement of marines, including officers, amounted to 212, besides which 28 women, wives of marines, carrying with them 17 children, were permitted to accompany their husbands, as the marines were to form the garrison of the colony. The whole corpus of the new settlement, as it set out from England, including the thirteen officials named, amounted to 1118. Some of these, however, died on the voyage. The squadron reached Teneriffe, in the Canary Islands, on the 3rd of June, where they remained a week to allow the whole of the people, convicts as well as the rest, the benefits of fresh provisions, fruits, and vegetables. The only fruits then ripe were figs and mulberries, but these were plentiful and excellent. That such a pause for refreshment was advisable with the then imperfect accommodation for the transport of men on long voyages, is shown by the fact that, in this passage of only three weeks, there had been 91 persons under medical treatment, and there had died of these 24 persons, namely, 21 convicts and 3 children. On the 6th of

August they reached Rio Janeiro, where they again enjoyed fresh fruits and vegetables, and laid in new provisions and military stores, of which they were deficient, as well as such seeds as they thought would flourish in Australia, amongst them those of cotton, coffee, indigo, and the cochineal fig. They took with them a hundred sacks of cassada flour also, lest their biscuit might fall short. Leaving Rio on the 4th of September, they reached the Cape of Good Hope on the 13th of October, where they laid in once more provisions, and such live stock as they intended to carry to their destination. From the time they left Teneriffe, their crews and the convicts had been so healthy that they lost none by sickness, and only one by falling overboard.

On the 12th November, the squadron again set sail, having taken a month to put on board their stock of animals. Of these they had not less than five hundred head, but chiefly fowls. It was not till the 18th of January, 1788, that the squadron came to anchor in Botany Bay, having taken about eight months to perform a voyage which is now frequently made in little more than two. They had, however, made stoppages on the way amounting to full nine weeks, a length of time nearly sufficient for the whole voyage now; thus reducing the actual period of sailing to less than six months.

Botany Bay was immediately found extremely unsuitable for the site of the capital of a colony; and Captain Phillip set out, with some of his officers, to examine Port Jackson, seen and named, but not explored, by Captain Cook. The sight of this magnificent harbour, with its beautiful wooded promontories and numerous receding coves, at once determined their removal from Botany Bay; and on the 25th of January, seven days after the arrival of the last vessel, they sailed out, and the same evening cast anchor in Port Jackson. We have already seen that, as they were coming out of Botany Bay, La Perouse, with his two ships the Boussole and Astrolabe, were coming in—from that point, never to be heard of again for many a long year.

Governor Phillip pronounced Port Jackson the finest harbour that he had ever seen, for extent and security; and his officers fully concurred in his opinion. They found the entrance not more than two miles across, where the port extended into a noble and capacious basin, having sounding sufficient for the largest vessels, and space to accommodate any number of ships that could be assembled. It runs, chiefly in a western direction, about thirteen miles into the country, and contains not less than a hundred small coves, formed by narrow necks of land, whose projections afford admirable shelter from all winds. At first, the governor was inclined to pitch upon the head of the bay as the site of his town; but he soon discovered the very superior advantages of a cove, which he named Sydney Cove, which lies on the south side of the harbour, about five or six miles from the entrance. Here was water at the very side of the cliffs deep enough for large vessels, so that it afforded great facilities for immediate disembarkment of his stock and stores, offering, consequently, the same advantages to the future trade of the place.

The necks of land that form the coves were mostly covered with timber, yet so rocky that it was not at first very obvious how the trees had found sufficient nourishment. The soil around the bay was light and sandy, and it had been noticed by all navigators that the Australian coasts were in general sterile, and Port Jackson did not greatly differ from this character. It was only as they progressed inland that they began to discover very fertile lands. The excellence of the climate, however, compensated in a great degree for the dryness and sandiness of the ground; and vegetables flourished beyond expectation in this thin soil, and still more, all kind of fruit trees.

The neck of land which divides the south end of the harbour from the sea, was found still more sandy. Between Sydney Cove and Botany Bay, the first space was occupied by woods, in some parts a mile and a half, and in others three miles across. Beyond that is a heath,

apparently almost entirely consisting of what we call Calais-land, but full of springs of beautiful water; and it was wonderful to observe how flowers in spring, and shrubs at all times, flourished in this sand thus kept moist. The whole of that meagre heath, in September, was a carpet of beautiful flowers, interspersed by shrubs of equal beauty. As far as the eye could reach beyond, the country was one continued wood.

The planting and progress of the colony lies beyond the limits of my subject: I have to regard it only as it promoted discovery. From this centre, discovery must, as a natural consequence, spread as the community grew. The first obstacle to its tendency to the interior, was the hostility of the natives. These at first appeared friendly, but it was certain that convicts would not conduct themselves towards them so as to maintain that friendliness. The natives, creatures of impulse, avenged injuries without regard to the certainty of an overwhelming retaliation. On the other hand, with the untaught cupidity of savages, they were sure to seize on the tools, the food, and the cattle of the invaders. These causes led to many wholesale depredations, surprises of small parties in the country; or on the shores, fishing boats, corn, cattle, were carried off, and frequent massacres by natives of settlers, and by settlers of natives, took place. La Perouse had had to fire upon the natives before he quitted Botany Bay; and the English were compelled to follow his example occasionally. Hence, a spirit of hostility took root in the native mind, even when concealed under an air of amity; and they were repeatedly cutting off such as ventured into the country, without sufficient protection of arms or numbers. It was only when the fear of the white became an habitual feeling, that progress into the country became more and more secure.

From this cause the course of discovery continued for some time to display itself on the ocean, and especially round the coasts, and hence the instances that we have had to record under Bass, Flinders, and others. Norfolk Island, discovered by Cook, was made a settlement soon

after the founding of Sydney, under Lieutenant-governor King, chiefly for the procurement of the native flax and for cutting the native pine. The small island called Lord Howe's Island was discovered by Lieutenant Ball in sailing thither. In 1788, the first year of the new colony, also, Lieutenant Shortland, in proceeding according to orders with four ships to England by Torres Straits, was driven out eastward to sea, lost sight of the three other vessels; and advancing alone, discovered Middleton's Island, and afterwards some fresh islands in the Solomon group. In the same year Captain Marshall, of the Scarborough transport, proceeding from Sydney to China, discovered some small islands near the equator in the Pacific, which he named the Mulgrave Islands. But these had nothing to do with Australian discovery, farther than that they were made by captains sailing from an Australian port. Meantime slight extensions of inland survey were making. Governor Phillip made two excursions to Broken Bay, and discovered the river Hawksbury running into it. Several excursions were made by the Governors Phillip and Hunter westward and south-westward, and by private individuals as far as Cape Porteus, Mount Hunter, and Mount Taurus, but till 1813 the Sydney district remained pretty much confined within the boundaries of Broken Bay and the Hawksbury on the north, Shoalhaven on the south, and the mountains to the west. Hacking, Bass, and others had attempted to find an entrance through these mountains in vain. This being the case, the colony expanded its energies still coastward. The discoveries of Bass, Flinders, Grant, and Murray led to founding of York Town and Launceston on the Tamar in Van Diemen's Land in 1804, by an expedition sent out from Sydney under Colonel Paterson.

In 1803 Mr. Charles Grimes, surveyor-general of New South Wales, was despatched to examine the bay of Port Phillip in preparation for a settlement there also. Mr. Grimes reported that he had found several streams of fresh water falling into the bay, the finest of which was

one called by the natives Yarra-Yarra, at the northern head of the bay. In consequence of this, Colonel Collins, formerly judge-advocate of the colony of New South Wales, was sent out with an expedition to found a colony there. Colonel Collins did not display much discernment on the occasion; instead of fixing his site on the uplands on the banks of the river Yarra-Yarra, where Melbourne is now so advantageously placed, he endeavoured to originate the town on the southern shore of the bay, between Arthur's Seat and Point Nepean. The unfavourable location soon forced upon his attention its disadvantages, but instead of removing to the banks of the Yarra, he determined to quit the coast altogether, and follow the example by this time set by Colonel Paterson, by crossing over to Van Diemen's Land, where at the opposite extremity of the island, on the estuary of the Derwent, he now selected the truly admirable site of Hobart Town.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SETTLEMENT OF TASMANIA AND SUBSEQUENT DISCOVERIES.

Small extent of the island.—Opening of the interior from Hobart-Town to Launceston by Lieutenant Laycock.—The chief part of the island explored by nameless emigrants.—Exploration of William Sorell.—Famous attempt to capture the natives.—Their extradition peacefully effected by Mr. G. A. Robinson.—Discovers part of the island in the course of his work.—Perils of the enterprise.—Mr. Frankland's discoveries in 1835.

THE small extent of the surface of Tasmania rendered the matter of internal discovery a comparatively light matter. True, it had its bold mountains and forests, much denser than those of the Australian continent, but all lying within so narrow a circle that they precluded the possibility of expeditions of discovery, and consequently of those stirring adventures in that field of action which the wide area of Australia occasioned. There are a few facts, however, connected with the progress of opening up the country, and the fate of its native population, which ought to find a record in these volumes.

The first communication between Hobart Town and Launceston was opened by Lieutenant Laycock and his party; they were nine days on the journey, and their unexpected appearance excited great astonishment at Hobart Town. A loaded cart was subsequently sent to Launceston, and passed over the country without felling a single tree.

Much of the exploration of the island was made by nameless emigrants. The hunters were also pioneers, but beyond the general features of the scenery, they afforded little information; wild cattle were the better guides. To provide a settlement for strangers, William Sorell, the third lieutenant-governor, explored the region lying between the Shannon and the Clyde to its junction with the Derwent, free from timber, and within twenty

miles of navigable waters. In this district were located several distinguished settlers.

A discovery of part of Tasmania resulted from an attempt by the governor, Sir George Arthur, to catch and pen up in Tasman's Peninsula the black population of the island in 1830. The blacks had become so exasperated by injuries and insults which they had received from the white settlers, that they kept up a constant state of warfare, and destroyed all the whites they could, besides plundering their property on every possible occasion. Sir George, then Colonel Arthur, the Governor of Tasmania, resolved to drive them into Tasman's Peninsular, and fortifying East-Bay Neck to keep them there. They were to be allowed to hunt at their pleasure, but never again to set foot on the rest of the island.

This notable scheme was to be effected by calling out all the able-bodied settlers as well as the soldiers to form a cordon across the island, and thus to drive the natives, like so many cattle, before them. The governor and suite took part in this enterprise, and 300 soldiers were mingled with the settlers on the occasion. Every experienced Bushman declared the scheme absolutely foolish and impracticable. The country was full of wild mountains and dense woods, where the whites would find it frequently impossible to keep within call of each other, much more so to examine the brush and defiles in which the black-bodied natives could secrete themselves till the battue was gone past. It would be perfectly easy for the natives in the night to slip past in the shade of trees, bushes, and rocks, or to clamber up where no white man could easily follow them. They knew every obscure place in the hills and woods, every defile of the mountains, and they had only to lie as black logs where numbers of these lay, or to sink themselves in rivers and pools till the men-hunters were gone by, to escape detection.

The strictest injunctions were issued that no two persons of the cordon should ever be more than fifty or sixty yards from each other; they were to keep up large

fires at night, and the sentinels were to meet each other in their parade ere they turned back to their individual posts, and every ten minutes were to give the watch-word, the number of their party, and "All's well." Upwards of 3500 persons turned out for this exciting operation, but, with all their vigilance, they found on reaching Tasman's Peninsula the natives, instead of being cooped up there, were, with the exception of two captured on the way, all behind them, and had been laughing at the whole as a fool's errand. Not only had they gone through the cordon of nights almost at their pleasure, but they boasted to some of the settlers that they slipped past their intending captor in the woods in full day.

This remarkable expedition cost the colony £36,000 in the direct expenses of the cordon; but the full cost to the colony was £70,000, or £35,000 a-piece for the two wretched natives taken prisoners.

About eight or nine months previous to the formation of this grand and most abortive native hunt, Mr. George Augustus Robinson, an architect and builder at Hobart Town, had proposed to go, almost alone and single-handed, amongst the aborigines, and bring them all in to the governor, on condition that they were well used, and a safe and suitable place of abode was assigned them entirely to themselves. This scheme was treated as most wildly Utopian: but when all other schemes utterly failed, it was adopted. Mr. Robinson accepted the conditions offered him, and we have his own narrative of his accomplishment of this, one of the most extraordinary works of human tact and philanthropy which the world's history has to show:—

He tells us that, prior to the formation of the celebrated cordon for catching the natives, he had submitted his plan to Sir George Arthur, who approved of it, and allowed him to commence it; but notwithstanding this, the governor was induced, without waiting to see the effect of Mr. Robinson's exertions, to try the cordon. The public voice was raised wildly against

Mr. Robinson's scheme; and even after the cordon had failed, this opinion of it still held possession of the public mind; but having the full sanction of the governor, he did not hesitate a moment to set about it. His plan was founded on the rational idea, that violent measures might annihilate, but could never move the natives to peace; that as rational beings, created by God for the same purposes as the whites, and having the same rights, it was the duty of Christians to endeavour to save their lives, and to civilise them. As rational creatures, he believed that they might be approached, and persuaded by kindness. That if once convinced that the whites only desired to place them in a separate and independent condition, and not to destroy them, they would consent to accept a separate island as their abode. This, he says, was the whole secret of his plan. He had a wife and several children dependent on him, but his mind was under an impression that he could not resist, and having the concurrence of Mrs. Robinson, he put himself in the hands of God, and went on. Let us accompany him from the first setting out.

His first intention was to visit the natives at Port Davy, and through them to make himself known to those in the interior. He set out in a boat to go round the south-west cape of the island; but the boat was stranded in the attempt, and most of his provisions lost. Now, for the first time, he began to despair of his enterprise. It was not that he feared the natives, but that he should not be able to proceed to them from want of provisions; and that if he turned back for a fresh supply, he should not be allowed to resume his attempt. He went on, therefore, accompanied by five natives of Brune Island, who were friendly. At first, and for a long time, the natives, who had suffered so much from the treachery and violence of the settlers, treated him with suspicion; and he began to think that his benevolent scheme must fail. The time allowed him for bringing over the natives to his views was one year; but to all appearance, it would require seven years to gain their confidence. He there-

fore changed his tactics, and instead of courting them further, he resolved to make a plain statement to them of his desires for their good, and the consequence of their rejecting his offers, and then leave them. Assembling the tribe, therefore, he assured them that he came amongst them without arms, had thrown himself confidently on their friendship, his only object being to save them from the total destruction which otherwise awaited them. He had pledged his word that, if they followed him, they should have a country of their own, with no one to molest them; but as they did not believe him, he should now leave them. And what would follow? The white men they could never subdue, for there were millions of them at home to follow, if they killed all there. The white men would, therefore, in the end assuredly cut them off to a man. He regretted so sad an alternative, but he could not do more, and he demanded guides to lead him to the white settlement. This being granted, he set off at twelve o'clock at night, and proceeded to a distance from their camp, where he bivouacked.

This decisive action turned the scale. The next morning, the whole tribe came after him, and agreed to follow him. These blacks, thirty-four in number, he placed in security in Swan Island; and before returning to prosecute the work of conciliation on the mainland, he made a voyage amongst the islands in the straits, liberating a number of native women who were held in thraldom by the whalers. The government furnished him with an armed cutter and boats for this service; and he relieved a number of such women, and conveyed them to their country people in Swan Island.

Returning to his labours on the mainland, the government offered high rewards to any respectable inhabitants that would join in the undertaking; but none would accept the service, and the duty of conciliating and removing the remaining tribes was left to Mr. Robinson alone.

He removed the Stony Creek tribe, and then proceeded in quest of the Big River and Oyster Bay tribes, two of

the most savage in the island; and in six weeks he had won them over, and conducted them to Hobart Town, whence they were sent to Gun-Carriage Island. In his evidence before the council, Mr. Robinson had stated that no force could subjugate the natives; that the whole British army could not do it: it had now been proved that the whole military force of the colony could not do it; after costing £70,000, the whole result was the capture of two blacks. In his narrative of this adventure, he says:—

"The country was perhaps one of the most rugged on the face of the earth. It had a larger extent, in proportion to its area, of wild unproductive lands, mountains, and dense forests, than any other with which I am acquainted. People could but have a faint idea of the toils and privations which I endured in prosecuting this plan. The climate in the mountainous parts of Tasmania is intensely cold and humid, the rain falling generally for six or eight months in the year: and when I say that I have been for six weeks without a dry thread on my back, subsisting on fern roots and the pith of the shrub, it may be inferred that my undertaking was none of the easiest. Had I been intent on the survey of the country only, my condition would not have been so bad, as I could have halted at leisure; I should have had the company of my countrymen, and been provided with dogs and fire arms to contribute to my subsistence. But in this undertaking, dogs would have precluded me from communication with the natives, and fire arms would have prevented them trusting me when I did obtain interviews with them. In all my difficulties, my sole dependence was on the Omnipotent Being; and I might truly say, that 'I was led in the paths which I knew not,' and preserved in danger by His power alone. Frequently I have seen the sun go down without any expectation of ever beholding it rise again; and I have been surrounded by black savages, with their spears presented at me; and have been spared when all hope was fled."

He had frequently hairbreadth escapes with his life.

In one isolated spot of the island he suddenly came on a camp of the natives. He had then an escort of blacks from the tribes won over. The surprised natives seized their arms; his escort also securing some of the native spears, there was every prospect of a battle; but Mr. Robertson took the spears from his black escort, returned them to their owners, and ordered his attendants to a distance, standing in the midst of the exasperated savages, alone and unarmed, and ready to meet death. The effect of this was such that the savages became placated, and quickly put themselves under his protection, and followed him quietly to Hobart Town. The subjection of the Oyster Bay and Big River tribes was especially dangerous. They were known to be a furious and blood-thirsty people, but his success with them was so astonishing, as to look like the direct work of Providence. As he approached their camps they received him with every sign of hostility, poising their spears, shouting their war-cry, the women crying, the hostile tribes yelling dreadfully. But the devoted peace-maker calmly awaited them, and as by magic soon calmed them down, and led them away. He slept on the ground amidst them. During the evenings around their fires, they showed him their scars, there being scarcely a man, woman, or child, who had not been wounded by the white men. One of these tribes not only gave up to him their spears, but about sixteen stand of fire-arms, which they had obtained by one means or another, and he led them to Bothwell, the nearest white settlement, and thence to Hobart Town, a march of eight days.

The only blacks now left at large on the island were at Arthur's River, and in endeavouring to bring these in, Mr. Robertson appears to have been very nearly losing his life in the moment of his accomplished labour. As this adventure closes the narrative of his extraordinary enterprise of peaceful conquest, I give it in his own words:—"It appeared that the blacks had meditated my destruction, and had laid their plans for preventing my escape, by placing sentinels all around me. I was with

the tribe when I observed an unusual excitement among them: they were much agitated, and employed in sharpening their spears, and other instruments of war. I addressed them, stating that I could not, nor did I wish to compel them to go with me against their will, and if they did not like to accompany me, they might remain where they were. They began to encircle and close on me, when, for the first time since I had undertaken the fearful mission, I fled from them. In my flight I overtook a black woman, near to a wide and rapid river, which I was desirous of crossing from my pursuers; but as I could not swim, I hardly knew what to do. The woman advised me to hide myself in the bushes, but I knew too well the keenness with which the blacks tracked the smallest object, to trust to that; therefore, as my only hope, I launched a log of wood into the river, on which I leant, and the kind-hearted woman immediately jumped into the water, and swam across, drawing the log after her. I could truly say, that in all my travels, the poor black natives had consoled, fed, and contributed in every manner they could to my comfort. After being out hunting for a long time, they would sometimes return with an opossum or a kangaroo, which they would bring and lay before me. In these inhospitable wilds we have frequently been without food for two days, when, falling in with a river, they would go and fish amongst the rocks. Whatever they caught they would immediately bring to me, and never by any chance eat of it until bid by me to do so. They carried my supplies for me, sympathized with me in my troubles, and cheered me in my solitude. And I must beg to observe, that the country through which I travelled bore no resemblance to the fine open lands of New Holland. The greater part of the country was a dense forest, the trees in some places being 60 feet in circumference, and 250 feet high, interwoven with an almost impenetrable brush-wood at the bottom; and for a long time, in traversing these wilds, I was dependant for sustenance solely on the kind blacks who accompanied me, who

caught badgers and porcupines, and not unfrequently I had to live upon grubs." But he brought all in.

Mr. Robinson adds, it is an entirely mistaken notion that he received any assistance in this great work from the Sydney Blacks, who were sent over to assist in capturing the Tasmanian natives. He refused to use them from the first, as they knew nothing of the language or habits of the Tasmanian blacks, and would therefore have been a burden rather than an assistance to him in the expedition. They might, moreover, have been tempted to acts of secret hostility, for it is a curious fact that the aborigines of Australia actually despised the blacks of Tasmania—a race ignorant of the womerah!

The final result of this noble endeavour to save the remnant of this race, was not such as might have been hoped for. Flinders' Island in Bass's Straits was given up to them as their own, where they might live secure from the encroachments of the white population; and Mr. Robinson details the means adopted for their instruction in the Christian religion, and in sacred singing. Schools, day, evening, and Sunday, were opened, and the civil officers and their wives assisted him and his family in them. The natives had stone cottages, with gardens, where they raised their own vegetables; they had cooking utensils and other articles, and adopted the orderly European modes of life. An aboriginal fund was founded for the savings of the blacks, made from the sale of mutton birds, bird's skins, etc., which were sent to Launceston. An aboriginal police was organized, and three of the chiefs were made constables, who, with the superintendent, formed a court of justice for the decision of all causes of dispute. They had a market, and a species of coin, and became orderly, cleanly, and industrious. In three years they had cleared a considerable patch of forest land, and made a road nine miles long into the interior of the island. But the change of their habits from free hunting, and a constant stretch after the necessities of life, to this comparatively easy and monotonous existence, where all the means of life were

provided by the government, was fatal to them. Probably, too, amid all their civilized prosperity, there was a home-sickness, a regretful remembrance of their wild past life, which did its work upon them. They died off rapidly, and just when they should have shown an example of civilization in this aboriginal race, they were all, except a few individuals, in their graves. Mr. Robinson gives a sermon written by a black youth, which shows a clear understanding of the christian faith, but there soon ceased to be a black community to exercise this faith, and their new-found arts. The island is 200 miles in circumference, and seemed well adapted to their nomadic habits, but from 1803, when Tasmania was colonized, to 1837, when they were transferred to Flinders' Island, or in 34 years, they had sunk from 1600 to 300. The causes of this diminution are patent enough, but mortality became still more rapid after their settlement in Flinders' Island. Accordingly it was proposed that Mr. Robinson should take over the remnant of them to Victoria, where he was appointed, in 1838, Protector of the Aborigines, but this plan was abandoned, and he only took six of them over with him. In a few years only 40 of this once great Island tribe remained on Flinders' Island, and they were permitted to return to their native haunts, after which they had never ceased to sigh. But it was too late to reinfuse any new germs of life into them. They continued to diminish, and the Tasmanian census of 1861, reported their numbers as only *eighteen!*

Mr. Lloyd says that it has always been the opinion of the public in Tasmania, that Mr. Robinson was most shabbily rewarded by the colonial government for the execution of this unique and great enterprise. What the whole strength of the government had failed to accomplish at a cost of £70,000, he did, by putting his life in his hand, and was granted 2,560 acres of land, of an inferior description, not then worth more than from five to seven shillings and sixpence an acre, and an annuity of £120 per annum. Had Mr. Robinson been an aristocrat, his

achievement would have been extolled as the wonder of the age, and nothing less than the government of some colony would have been offered him. As it was, he was one of God's agents, not man's, and to God they left, for the most part, his reward, which, no doubt, one day he will receive. It may be said that his appointment to the aboriginal Protectorship in Victoria by the home government was in consequence of his services on this occasion, and, therefore, an additional item in acknowledgement of his most important benefit to the colony. "Through his exertions," says Mr. Lloyd, a Tasmanian colonist, "the once timid farmer can now pursue his ordinary avocations, without the painful necessity of encumbering his shoulders with a double gun throughout every day of the year; shepherds and cattle-tenders can range the hills and vales, and feed their flocks and herds, singly and unarmed, instead of being compelled to march in couples, armed to the teeth. To all travellers henceforth, the heart of the wild forest was safe as in the midst of the metropolis itself." And what is more, Tasmania was lightened of a huge load of blood-guiltiness, which must have attended the extinction of this once rightful race of the soil, and the close of their sad history—a history foreshadowing that of all aboriginal tribes,—left with a setting, gentle splendour upon it, of kindness and humanity.

In 1835, the surveyor-general, Mr. Frankland, made an expedition of discovery into the interior of Van Diemen's Land, chiefly confined to the upper country of the island, and to the part lying to the southward of Macquarie Harbour.

CHAPTER XIII.

COMMENCEMENT OF PROGRESS INTO THE INTERIOR OF NEW SOUTH WALES.—EVANS'S EXPEDITION.—OXLEY'S TWO EXPEDITIONS.

Opening up a route through the Blue Mountains by Messrs. Wentworth, Blaxland, and Lawson, in 1813.—Mr. Evans discovers the Macquarie and Lachlan.—Road through the mountains by convict labour.—Discovery of gold by them.—Expedition of Oxley, accompanied by Allan Cunningham and Charles Frazer, botanists, and W. Parr, mineralogist.—Find already a good house and flocks and herds at Bathurst.—Reach the Lachlan.—Marks of great floods.—Enter vast flats.—Natives numerous, but quiet.—Name many hills and streams.—First encounter with Mallee Scrub.—Still vast flats, evidently flooded in winter.—Allan Cunningham planted peach and other fruit stones.—Tracing the Lachlan.—Stopped by vast swamps.—Lakes discovered.—Mounts Cunningham, Melville, &c.—They return.—OXLEY'S SECOND EXPEDITION TO THE MACQUARIE.—In 1818 Mr. Oxley, accompanied by Messrs. Evans and Frazer, and Dr. Harris, set out to explore the Macquarie.—Fell down the river in two boats.—Stopped again by swamps.—Struck eastwardly from Mount Harris.—Discovered the Castlereagh river.—Kangaroo Hill.—Loadstone Hill.—Arbuthnot's Range.—Mount Exmouth.—Country very hilly.—Fine country about Hardwicke's Range.—Still fresh hills, and again fine country.—Peel's River.—Splendid country leading towards the coast.—Sydney River.—Extensive view of the coast.—Reach Port Macquarie.—Natives treacherous.—Travellers follow the coast to Newcastle.

IN 1813, a long and severe drought at Sydney threatened to cause the destruction of much cattle, and roused a number of gentlemen to attempt the enterprise of forcing a way through the Blue Mountains, which hemmed in the country round that city. These gentlemen were, Lieutenant Lawson, of the Royal Veteran Company, Mr. Blaxland, and Mr. W. C. Wentworth, the son of Mr. D'Arcy Wentworth, a gentleman who has since risen to such eminence in the colony. Their success was complete, and is expressed in the following passages from the introduction to Mr. Oxley, the Surveyor-General of the colony's account of his own expedition in pursuance of their discoveries :—

"They crossed the Nepean River at Emu Plains, and ascending the first range of mountains, were entangled among gullies and deep ravines for a considerable time, insomuch that they began to despair of ultimate success.

At length they were fortunate enough to find a main dividing range, along the ridge of which they travelled, observing that it led them westward. After suffering many hardships, their distinguished perseverance was at length rewarded by the view of a country, which at first sight promised them all they could wish.

"Into this land of promise they descended by a steep mountain, which Governor Macquarie has since named Mount York; a mountain found to be 795 feet above the valley at its foot, which was named by the Governor the Vale of Clwydd, from its resemblance to the Welsh valley of that name. This valley was covered with grass, and well watered by a small stream running eastward, and which was subsequently found to fall into the Nepean River. From Mount York they proceeded westwardly eight or ten miles, passing during the latter part of the way through an open country, but broken into steep hills. Seeing that the stream before mentioned as watering the valley ran easterly, it was evident that they had not yet crossed the ranges which it was supposed would give source to waters falling westerly: they had, however, proceeded sufficiently far for their purpose, and ascertained that no serious obstacles existed to a farther progress westward.

"Their provisions being nearly expended, they returned to Sydney, after an absence of little more than a month; and the report of their discoveries opened up new prospects to the colonists, who had begun to fear that their narrow and confined limits, would not long afford pasture and subsistence for their greatly increasing flocks and herds.

"His Excellency Governor Macquarie, with that promptitude which distinguishes his character, resolved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of obtaining further knowledge of the interior. Mr. Evans, the deputy surveyor, was directed to proceed with a party, and follow up the discoveries already made. He crossed the Nepean River, on the 20th of November, 1813, and on the 26th, arrived at the termination of Messrs. Law-

son, Blaxland, and Wentworth's journey. Proceeding westward, he crossed a mountainous broken country, afterwards called Clarence Hilly Range, the grass of which was good, and the valley well watered, until the 30th, when he came to a small stream, running westerly; this stream called by him, the Fish River, he continued to trace till the 7th of December, passing through a very fine country, adapted to every purpose, either of agriculture or grazing; when he met another stream coming from the southward. This latter he named Campbell River, and when joined with the Fish River, the united streams received the name of the Macquarie River, in honour of his excellency the present governor of New South Wales.

"Mr. Evans continued to trace the Macquarie River until December the 18th, passing over rich tracts, clear of timber, well-watered, and offering every advantage which a country in its natural state can be supposed to afford. During this excursion, Mr. Evans fell in with abundance of kangaroos and emus, and the river abounded with fine fish; he saw only six natives during the whole time of his absence, although he observed on his return, many fires in the mountains. On the 8th of January, 1814, he returned to Emu Plains, having gone in the whole, near one hundred miles, in a direction due west from the Nepean River."

Here then, were the mountain gates opened into the almost illimitable lands of Australia. The first steps were taken in that great career of interior exploration, which has cost so many lives, and displayed wide to the eager gaze of an on-pressing population, the home fields of many millions. Measures were immediately instituted to construct a high road through the whole distance already gone. This work was intrusted to Mr. Cox, with a strong band of convict labourers. He led this road for loaded carriages, along a narrow ridge of the Blue Mountains, bounded on each side by deep ravines and precipitous rocks. He then cut it through many arduous obstacles down Mount York, and in April, 1815,

it was completed for a distance of upwards of a hundred miles. It was then, in modern phraseology, opened by the governor, attended by Mrs. Macquarie, and an escort on horseback, of many of the most distinguished colonists. The description of the magnificent scenery through which this new highway to the interior passed, as given by the governor, is of the most enthusiastic character. This official party near the eighth mile mark from Emu Ford, observed a pile of stones placed on a height, to note the spot to which Mr. Caley, the botanist, had once forced his way, in attempting to scale these mountains, and named it Caley's Repulse. They afterwards noted with admiration, the spot at which Messrs. Lawson, Blaxland, and Wentworth, had terminated their excursion, and commemorated the spot by giving the names of these gentlemen to three beautiful hills. At Bathurst, amid magnificent plains, and still on the banks of the Macquarie, one hundred and fifty miles from Sydney, the Governor gave orders for the establishment of a government station, and for tracing out a town, since become the centre of both an opulent pastural, and a more opulent gold district. It is a curious fact, that at this early period, 1814, the convicts employed in cutting this road, found considerable quantities of gold, and were only compelled to keep silence on that point, by menaces of flogging to death, such was the horror of the anticipated effects of a gold mania, under the then circumstances of the colony. The most remarkable thing is that such an exciting knowledge could be suppressed till 1851, thirty-seven years, by which time the memory of the fact had nearly died out, and a new discovery was originated.

The way being thus opened, Governor Macquarie despatched a party under the command of Mr. John Oxley, the surveyor-general, to make further explorations along the newly discovered river, bearing his name. He was accompanied by Mr. George Evans, the deputy-surveyor, Mr. Allan Cunningham, the king's botanist, who had been sent from England, to make

inquiries into the flora of the country, and to collect plants and seeds, for the royal gardens at Kew; Mr. Charles Frazer, colonial botanist, Mr. William Parr, mineralogist, and eight other men, including amongst them, a butcher, a boat-builder and sailor, a horse-shoer, and horse-manager, a harness-mender, etc.; in all, thirteen persons, with pack-horses carrying provisions and scientific instruments. They quitted Sydney on the 6th of April, 1817, and continued their journey till August 29th, nineteen weeks, when they arrived again in safety at Bathurst.

Mr. Evans on his previous expedition, had observed the sources of the Lachlan River, not far from Bathurst, and had traced its course to some distance westward. Here a depot had been established, and two boats built to facilitate the progress of the new party down the unexplored stream. It was imagined that it ran south-west, and would be found to fall into the sea on the south-west coast, between Spencer's Gulf and Cape Otway. It was asserted, that its course could not be more than six hundred miles, and that it probably united somewhere with the Macquarie. That both these, and many other streams, were but the tributaries to a far greater river, which traversed the continent for nearly two thousand miles, was yet far from having become even a dream.

In eight days they arrived at Bathurst, and found already a good house built by Mr. Cox, the government superintendent, the government grounds fenced in, the flocks and herds exhibiting a most flourishing condition, and the stackyards displaying the abundant produce of the last harvest. "The mind," he said, "dwelt with pleasure on the certainty that very soon these secluded plains would be covered with flocks bearing the richest fleeces, and contributing in no small degree to the prosperity of the eastern settlements." On the 20th they proceeded on their journey towards the Lachlan, through a fine and picturesque country, but which became flat and uninteresting as they approached the level of the

river. Where they struck the river on the 26th, they found it from thirty to forty yards across, enveloped in large trees, and lying deep between its banks. The course of the stream was much impeded by fallen trees, and though the land on either side was rich, the country was so thickly wooded that no view of it was to be obtained, except from some occasional eminence. Here already they were struck with astonishment at certain facts which forced themselves on their attention. They found that they were not more than 600 feet above the level of the sea, and supposing the river to run 600 miles to the sea, the country must be almost a dead flat. This opinion was strongly urged on them by another observation—that by the marks on the trees, the floods frequently rose thirty-six feet above the banks of the stream.

They found a considerable number of natives camped near their depôt, who, however, appeared friendly. They also observed lagoons full of ducks, black swans and red-bills. The trees were principally eucalyptus, cypresses and casuarinas. Through these vast, monotonous flats, or rather swamps, they proceeded, with many obstructions from trees to their boats, and with an accident to one and loss of part of their provisions. Here and there they saw rising out of these immense levels stony ranges of some miles in length, of dark granite, and other detached hills or piles of rocks, chiefly of hard sandstone, interspersed with pebbles and quartz. To these heights they gave the names of Mounts Amyot, Melville, Cunningham, Stuart, Byng, Granard, and Bauer, the two latter far north-west of them. To the ranges they gave the names of Watson Taylor, Jones, Peel, Goulburn, Macquarie, etc. On the 12th of May they found the river terminate in a vast marsh, through which it was impossible to proceed, and some of the men saying that they had observed another branch of the stream go off south-west, they struck away in that direction, by Mount Aiton, and Peel's Ranges to Mounts Caley and Brogden, which they reached on the

4th of June, after a journey through a most desolate region, as destitute of water as the other track had been too full of it. Their horses, which now carried their provisions, were worn out with struggling through a deep sandy or clayey soil, and consumed with thirst. The country, in dead flats, was overspread with what is now called mallee scrub, that is, the dwarf spreading eucalyptus, to which Mr. Cunningham gave the specific name of *dumosa*, a most pestilent scrub to travel through, the openings betwixt the trees being equally infested with the detestable needle-grass. Where the land was free from these torments, it often consisted alternately of a sterile sand and a hard clay, without grass of any description.

Their horses strayed during the nights in quest of food and water, giving them incredible and exhausting labour in seeking them amongst the scrub. When they climbed a hill, the prospect to the most distant horizon was the same, these dreary, scrubby or wooded flats, and the distantly isolated mounts. Everywhere the country showed marks of being under water at certain seasons. Yet wherever there was a rather high spot the good Allan Cunningham went on planting peach and apricot stones, quince seeds, and acorns.

After stopping some days to recruit their horses, one of which they had already lost, they again struck north, in hope of regaining some portion of the river; and holding along the western side of Peel's Range, on the 23rd of June they again fell in with the Lachlan at Strangford's Plains. They were greatly astonished to see it here after so completely losing itself in a swamp, now nearly as large as they had seen it before, lying twelve or fourteen feet below its banks, and running at a tolerably brisk rate westward. It was so hidden by large gum-trees, that they did not see it till close upon it.

Having again found the stream, Mr. Oxley determined to follow it down as far as possible. They saw that the Macquarie could not have joined this river, and the sin-

gular character of it only piqued their curiosity. They found plenty of fish in it, as they had done higher up, fine perch, of two or three pounds each, and the fresh-water cod, now generally known as the Murray cod, of from fifty to seventy pounds each. They had seen neither kangaroo nor emu for some time, but now they soon fell in with plenty of cockatoos and crows, a new species of pigeon, with a black plume, wings streaked with black, and the short feathers of a golden colour, edged with white, their necks at the back flesh-colour, their breasts fawn-colour: and a new species of cockatoo, or paroquet, with red necks and breasts, and grey backs. The botanists also found a splendid new amaryllis, and other new plants. But here all advantage ended. They had to go on plunging through bogs, to the exhaustion of themselves and horses; for the river became so obstructed with trees that the boats could not proceed. One horse soon died. Scarcely an elevation showed itself anywhere. After leaving Macquarie's Range, almost the only one they saw they named Mount Porteus, and from the top of this all the view in every direction from west to nearly north, was an immense flat, with scarcely any timber, but merely scrub, and showing here and there large lagoons, which, on approaching them, sent up a most offensive smell. At length they were brought again to a stand, by one wide and impassable swamp. They had now traced the Lachlan about five hundred miles in a direct line, and, calculating its windings, at least twelve hundred miles, and during all which passage through such a vast extent of country, it was found to receive not a single stream in addition to what it derived from its sources in the eastern mountains. It was computed that the situation of the spot where the stream ceased to have a current was latitude 33° 57′ 30″ south, longitude 144° 23′ east. Before setting out in return, they buried a bottle containing the date of their arrival and departure, their proposed course, and the names of the party.

They now retraced the stream as far as Strangford's

Plains, and then, still in a north-eastern direction, to a lake which they named Campbell Lake. They resolved to hold on in this direction so long as the river continued in that course, still doubtful whether it were the Lachlan or the Macquarie, but having reached another and larger lake, which they named Prince Regent's Lake, on the banks of which grew a splendid scarlet flower, the *Kennedya speciosa*, they ascended an eminence, and saw that the river trended south-west, and again lost itself in swamps. They were, therefore, satisfied that these swamps were its connection between this part of the stream and that where they had left it above, and, therefore, left it altogether at the north extremity of Piper's Hill, Watson Taylor's Ranges, on the 1st of August, and struck across the country north-east, in hope of falling in with the Macquarie. Under this hill they saw a kind of tumulus, of recent construction, and opening it found, as they expected, the remains of a native.

They now pursued their way over a country of a red, sandy loam, with small patches of cypress, box, and acacia, but getting dryer and dryer as they left the river behind. Occasionally they fell in with the mallee scrub, and suffered from want of water. They saw to their right various heights, as Mounts Cunningham, Melville, &c. Sometimes they were in open forest lands, where again they saw natives. They passed ponds which they called Coysgaine's Ponds, and eastward a lofty range which they called Harvey's Range. On the 14th of August, having reached the 148th° of longitude, and advanced above 100 miles from the Lachlan, they began to fear the end of their provisions before reaching the Macquarie, and therefore altered their course eastward, calculating that they were about seventy miles yet north of Bathurst. In this oblique course they crossed several fine, rapid streams, all running north-easterly, and with fine vallies between them. They named them Elizabeth's River, Mary's River, &c., and the two last streams, on reaching the Macquarie, Molle's Rivulet, and Bell's

River. They struck the Macquarie about fifty miles above the spot to which Mr. Evans had formerly traced it. They named a hill from which they had a fine prospect, not far from the Macquarie, Mount Elizabeth after Mrs. Macquarie, and the extensive plains north of it, McArthur's Plains.

They could not resist the pleasure of tracing down the Macquarie as far as Hove's Rock, and then returning, pursued their way to Bathurst along the western side of the river through a beautiful hilly country, with occasional fertile valleys, abounding with fish in the streams, and kangaroos and emus on the land. Many of the hills were clothed with grass to the tops, and the bends of the river they described as magnificent. On the 20th of August they reached Bathurst after an absence of nineteen weeks.

OXLEY'S SECOND EXPEDITION TO THE MACQUARIE.

The success of the expedition along the Lachlan stimulated the enterprising Governor Macquarie to a further exploration of the river named after him. Lieutenant King, in a recent voyage along the west and north coasts, had dashed the hope of any large river issuing out on those shores. He was still making maritime surveys, which might possibly bring some great river's mouth to light; but at present all was but deeper mystery, and inspired the more intense curiosity to trace the promising river seen by Mr. Evans and again by Mr. Oxley and his party. Accordingly, on May the 20th of the following year, 1818, he set out for Bathurst accompanied by Dr. Harris, surgeon of the 102nd regiment, Mr. Evans, the deputy-surveyor, and Mr. Charles Frazer, as botanist, with twelve men, nineteen horses, and provisions for twenty-four weeks. They quitted Bathurst on the 28th, and took the way on the west side of the Macquarie, which they had followed on their return from the last expedition. On reaching the spot on that river which they had struck on returning from the Lachlan, they found two boats built for their use, in which they em-

barked. Whilst the boats fell down the stream, the horses, also loaded, proceeded along the banks. As they advanced, they passed the mouths of Molle's, Mary's, and Elizabeth's Rivers, the Macquarie, itself deep, from two to three hundred feet wide, running in fine reaches, and literally covered with water-fowl. Extensive and rich flats stretched on either side of the river, backed by distant hills which afforded specimens of agate, jasper, ironstone, and flint. Unlike the Lachlan, there were yet no traces of floods. Kangaroos and natives in abundance. But gradually the country became lower and flatter, and by July the 3rd, when they had reached a situation of about east longitude 140° 10′, and latitude 30° 40′, they found the river like the Lachlan expand into an immense swamp, and cut off all farther progress. Deeply discouraged by the character of these rivers from which they had hoped so much, they returned to a hill on the river called Mount Harris, where they struck off, intending to trace the country eastward to the coast. They had observed in that direction a very lofty range, the summits of which were bare and dark, which they named Arbuthnot's Range, and towards that they directed their course. It was now the Australian winter, and this had prevented their further progress on the Macquarie, as it now threw many difficulties in their way. Their course was over a country alternately bog and brush, causing continual danger of loss of their horses. Many of the bogs were concealed by a dried surface, and were, therefore, the more treacherous, and in this route they eventually lost several of their best horses.

On the 27th of July they found a large stream crossing their track, which they named Castlereagh's River, 180 yards wide, deep, and flooded by the now frequent and deluging rains. On the 2nd of August the river had fallen as rapidly as it had risen, showing that it came out of mountains, and they found a ford. Still struggling through water, and bogs, and rain, they reached a beautiful hill which they called Kangaroo Hill,

from the great number of those animals, but which is named in the chart Loadstone Hill, from the singular effect on the compass, the needle of which flew suddenly round, and pointed to the south. The stone of the hill, when tried at the tent, had, however, no effect whatever on the magnet.

On the 8th they ascended Mount Exmouth, the central point of Arbuthnot's Range, which they found about 3000 feet in altitude. The view obtained from this height is thus described in Oxley's journal:—

"To the north-east, commencing at N. 33° E., and extending to N. 51° E., a lofty and magnificent range of hills was seen lifting their blue heads above the horizon. This range was honoured with the name of the Earl of Hardwicke, and was distant on a medium from 100 to 120 miles; its highest elevations were named Mount Apsley and Mount Shirley. The country between Mount Exmouth and this bounding range was broken into rugged hills, and apparently deep valleys, and several minor ranges of hills also appeared. The high lands from the east and south-east gradually lessened to the north-west, when they were lost in the immense levels which bounded the interior abyss of this singular country, the gulf in which both water and mountain seem to be as nothing. Mount Exmouth seems principally composed of ironstone; and some of the richest ore I had yet seen was found upon it. Mount Harris appeared westward at the distance of 100 miles, a perfect level filling up the intermediate space. Many new plants were found upon Mount Exmouth, and also some xanthorrheæ, or grass trees."

From these ranges for another hundred miles or more they passed through a very rough country of alternate bogs, quicksands, and woody, stony hills. The frost during the nights was often severe. Opposite to Hardwicke's Range, which lay about forty miles to the north, they found some fine, rich country. They saw and named Kerr's Peak, Mount Tetley, and Whitwell Hill. From the latter hill they had a view of magnificent

country, and wide stretches of mountains eastward. These hills affected the needle in the same manner as Loadstone Hill. On the 2nd of September, in a beautiful valley, they came to a deep and rapid stream, which they named Peel's River. Immediately after they passed over some lofty hills bounding a fine valley, which they named Goulburn Valley. Amongst these hills were numerous other streams, one of which they named Cockburn River, running westward into Peel's River.

From this point the country became wonderfully changed. It was hilly and beautiful; now consisting of open woods, abounding with kangaroos and beautiful plants, and tall blue-gum trees. As might be expected, natives were numerous. Quitting this, they found themselves on the dividing range, and a river, which they named the Sydney River, began to run eastward. They were now amongst fine stringy-bark forests, where granite and basaltic rock prevailed. They were within a hundred miles of the east coast, and in a most romantic region, of rocky ridges, deep glens, and fine open, fertile, forest lands. The rocks were covered with climbing plants, the glens abounded with new ones. They were now on another river running first east, and then southward, which they named Apsley River. On this river were two cataracts, Bathurst's Cataract, and Beckett's Falls, the latter very fine. The mountains abounded with coal and slate.

Descending with much difficulty from amongst the rocks and glens of this elevated region, they soon came upon a fresh river running eastward, which they named Hastings River, and which, eventually, was found to descend to Port Macquarie, the port which they reached on the east coast. They were still, however, fifty miles from the sea, and amid mountains of six and seven thousand feet high. The difficulties which they experienced in descending with their horses, through the wild gorges of these mountains, were enormous. At length they came out upon finely timbered slopes, and as they neared the sea, rich flats. They passed some tributary streams, which they named Forbes and Ellen-

borough Rivers; and much cedar timber began to present itself. Before reaching the port, they had to cross another river, King's River; and on reaching the port, they encamped with the satisfaction of feeling that they had traversed an entirely new tract of country, of three hundred and fifty miles or more, in a direct line from the Macquarie River. From the hills above, they had viewed the coast from Smoky Bay, north, to the Three Brothers, south, a magnificent triangular valley running from each of these points, and meeting at the foot of the hills above Port Macquarie. They had still to reach Newcastle, before they arrived at a settlement, and in this route, having to cross or skirt various marine inlets or lakes, they were much assisted by a boat from some wreck, which they found half buried in the sands near Cape Hawke. The natives on the way, pretended to be very friendly, but showed themselves treacherous, whenever they had an opportunity. They speared, and nearly mortally wounded one of the men, and on another occasion, flung an unexpected shower of spears at their tents. On arriving at Port Stephens, Mr. Evans rode forward to Newcastle, and the commandant, Captain Wallis, sent a large boat, and conveyed them to that settlement. During the route along the coast, the men carried the boat which they had found, on their shoulders for ninety miles, from one inlet to another. They reached Newcastle on the 5th of November, having performed by far the most important journey through the interior of Australia hitherto made.

CHAPTER XIV.

DISCOVERIES OF THE MURRUMBIDGEE RIVER; OF THE PORT PHILLIP DISTRICT, BY HUME AND HOVELL; OF THE PANDORA PASS AND LIVERPOOL PLAINS; AND OF THE BRISBANE RIVER.

Discovery of two rivers by Captain Rous, between Moreton Bay and Port Jackson.—Discovery of the Murrumbidgee.—And of Maneira Plains by Captain Currie.—Discoveries by the Messrs. Hume and Mr. Meehan of Argyle.—Lake Bathurst, etc.—Discovery of the Port Phillip district by Messrs. Hovell and Hume.—Their narrative.—Discovery of the Murray, the Goulburn, etc.—Scene at a native camp.—Difficulties of the return.—Attempt to form a settlement at Western Port.—Discovery of the Brisbane River by Mr. Oxley.—Also of the Pandora Pass into the Liverpool Plains, of the Gwydir and Dumaresque Rivers, by Allan Cunningham.

THE discoveries of Mr. Oxley, gave a new impulse to the spirit for opening up the country. Long before this, Captain Rous, of the king's ship Rainbow, had ascertained the existence of two rivers of considerable magnitude on the coast, between Moreton Bay and Port Jackson, by which, approach into that part of the colony might be facilitated. In 1819, the year after Mr. Oxley's discovery of the country between Mount Harris and the Port Macquarie, the river Murrumbidgee amongst the mountains, to the south-westward of Sydney, was brought into considerable prominence. For some time news of such a river had been brought to the capital, by persons who had been making explorations in quest of stations. It took a north-westerly course, and was reported as promising to lead to a great tract of country, highly desirable. It took its rise on the western side of the hills, the district called Argyle, or the New Country, and in 1823, Captain Currie, R.N., in the course of an expedition southward, discovered an extensive tract of undulating land, clear of timber, and watered by this river, so named by the natives. This valuable tract of country, Captain Currie named Brisbane

Downs, in honour of the then governor, Sir Thomas Brisbane, but it has since been more generally known by its native name of Monaroo, or the Maneira Plains. These plains extend from the great Warragong Chain, or Snowy Mountains, the Australian Alps of the present day, in the 149th degree of east longitude, to the mountain range which runs parallel to the east coast, and from the present limits of the colony to Bass's Straits. Maneira Plains, which are at least from two to three thousand feet above the level of the sea, and of which the climate in winter is exceedingly cold, are now occupied by squatters with herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, far more numerous than those of the patriarch Job. The prosecution of the discovery of the Murrumbidgee fell in a few years to Captain Sturt, but before this—indeed, in the year after Captain Currie had made known the Maneira Plains—enterprise was awoke to penetrate through the hills still more to the south of the newly discovered river. Two bold and patriotic men formed the hardy design to penetrate from Argyle County through the unknown region betwixt that district and Bass's Straits. One of these was Mr. Hovell, a retired shipmaster, who had been for many years a settler in the colony; the other, Mr. Hamilton Hume, brother of Mr. Kennedy Hume, a much respected settler near Yass, on the Murrumbidgee, who was barbarously murdered by bushrangers at Gunning, near that place, in 1840. The brothers Hume were the sons of a Presbyterian minister, who had emigrated from Ireland and settled in New South Wales. Mr. Hamilton Hume was born at Paramatta in 1797, and became one of the most active discoverers of new territory in the early days of the colony. So early as 1814, he and his brother, John Kennedy Hume, discovered the country around Berrima. In 1817, in company with Surveyor Meehan, he discovered Lake Bathurst, and laid open the country called Argyle. For this he received a grant of three hundred acres of land, and was subsequently associated in various exploring expeditions of a minor character. The great and

successful enterprise, which places the names of Hume and Hovell amongst the substantial discoverers in Australia, arose from a scheme of Governor Brisbane's. He had an idea that, to ascertain whether any considerable rivers disembogued on the south-eastern coast, a party of convicts might be landed at Wilson's Promontory, with a promise of indulgences and rewards if they succeeded in reaching Sydney. Hume was asked to take charge of the party, but he discouraged the scheme; and after some negotiation, it was arranged that he and Hovell should lead a party from Lake George overland to Western Port in Bass's Straits. The account of this expedition was given by Allan Cunningham in the second volume of the "Journal of the Geographical Society," and since, in narratives, by both of the explorers themselves.

The governor, however, though anxious for the result of this enterprise, very illiberally declined to furnish any of the necessary requisites of the expedition, except pack saddles, a tent, and a small quantity of ammunition, and stores. He erred on the safe but ignoble ground, in such cases, that should any important discoveries be made, a cash payment should be allowed for the use of the cattle, and grants of land to the leaders. (Hume's Narrative.)

The expedition started on the 2nd of October, 1824, from the stock station of Appin. The party consisted of six men, prisoners of the crown, as we have it on the authority of Hovell's "Narrative." Their supplies were carried in two carts, drawn by oxen; each of the men, as well as the leaders, being supplied with a musket. On the 14th they arrived at Lake George, lying in latitude 34° 48′ S., which they found to be about twenty miles in length by eight in breadth. From Lake George they directed their course to the station of Mr. Hume, which was then the most remote point, in a westward direction, at which the colonists had established themselves. Some days later they reached the banks of the Murrumbidgee, at a place where the stream was from

thirty to forty yards in breadth, the water, in most places, being level with the banks, and the current running at the rate of five or six miles an hour. Camping on the hither bank on the 22nd, and the water not subsiding, they determined to construct a raft for the transit. They found that the timber, however, was of too heavy a character to swim, at least in its green state; and they had recourse to an ingeniously extemporised punt, which Mr. Hume had improvised on a former journey. A cart was divested of its axle wheels and shafts, and being sheathed with a tarpauling, formed a boat sufficiently buoyant for all purposes. Hume and one of the men now swam the river, holding between their teeth the end of a line, which, on arriving at the other bank, drew over a stout rope which was attached to it; and by this the cart was drawn backward and forward over the river like a ferry boat. The plan answered admirably, and in repeated trips, the whole of their supplies were successfully carried over. The cattle and horses were then swum over, not without considerable danger from the swollen and rapid current of the river, some of the animals being repeatedly turned over or submerged in their passage. At five o'clock in the afternoon, however, everything was safely over the river.

But when on the other side, the extremely mountainous character of the country compelled them to abandon their carts and conceal such of their supplies, as they found it impossible to convey further. Each of the cattle had now a burthen of three hundredweights to carry, and the progress made was necessarily slow.

On the last day of the month, they arrived at the extremity of a tall range, over which they had been for some time travelling, and the descent of the precipice which they here encountered was not much less difficult and dangerous than the passage of the river. The declivity consisted of two divisions, separated by a rocky shelf projecting a few yards from the sides of the mountain. Having lowered the cattle and baggage down each of these declivities successively, they found them-

selves on the banks of a small river, with a picturesque rapid, in the vicinity of which they pitched their camp. Here, in accordance with a practice which they had pursued since leaving the confines of colonization, they planted some clover seed and peach stones, the character of the locality affording every prospect that these beneficent labours would result in an abundant harvest, profitable in the first place to the natives, and eventually to the European.

On the 3rd of November, having followed for some distance a track formed by the aborigines—always a sure guide to the vicinity of water—they arrived on the banks of a river about a hundred feet wide, with a strong current. To this stream, they gave the name of the Medway. The natives were now numerous; but although they several times responded to the calls of the explorers, they could not be induced to approach. Three days later, in descending a steep mountain, an accident occurred which nearly proved fatal to one of the party. A stone slipping from the feet of one of the bullocks, the animal ran down the precipice, forcing with it the man in charge. A tree, which luckily stood in the way, prevented man and beast from being dashed to pieces; but both were considerably hurt. In such perilous ascents and descents, it was now apparent that the bullock was much superior to the horse for a journey through an untravelled country. The horses it was always necessary to unload on such occasions, and to conduct each separately; but if one of the oxen were led, the rest, with great docility, followed, while the horse was timid and hurried in its action. In places where danger was present, the ox was steady and cautious. If, in ascending an acclivity, the ox slipped, or if the ascent were too steep for the ordinary mode of progression, he would kneel down, and thus sagaciously preserve his balance, or even scramble upward in this posture. If, in descending, he incurred a similar danger, he would turn his head toward the ascent, and kneeling down, thus rest himself for a second effort.

On the 8th, ascending a range for the purpose of making observations, they were delighted with the sight of several cone-shaped mountains, covered with snow about one-fourth of their height, and forming a magnificent spectacle. The mountains, extending in the form of a semicircle, were much larger than any hitherto seen. The South Australian Alps was the designation given to these gigantic hills. The distance travelled each day, at this period, varied from thirteen to fifteen miles. The weather was cold in the early morning, sultry at noon, and in the evening pleasant. At mid-day, the thermometer generally stood at 98°. Their progress was now intercepted by a ravine fully a thousand feet deep, with sides or walls almost perpendicular. Its breadth, at the place where it was encountered, was half a mile; but at some points, it narrowed into a mere chasm, not more than a hundred yards wide. They altered their course to avoid this obstacle, but failing in their purpose, they followed a kangaroo's path, which they found leading into a narrow valley; and pursuing this primitive road, succeeded in gaining the opposite side. This was the only occasion on which the paths formed by the kangaroo rendered them good service.

On the 16th, in latitude 36°, they suddenly arrived on the banks of the fine river, which then received the name of the Hume, in honour of one of the leaders of the party, who was the first to obtain a view of it. The stream was at that place eighty yards in breadth, and of a considerable depth, with a current of about three miles an hour. Like that of nearly all the Australian rivers, the course of the Hume was serpentine. On each side of the river was a succession of lagoons, extending in length from one to two miles, and about a quarter of a mile in breadth. These were situate alternately on each side of the river. In the space between the lagoons and the river grew blue-gums, vines, fern, the peppermint and flax plants, and currejong tree. The peppermint plant surpassed, both in odour and taste, the species usually produced in gardens; and from the flax-plant

the aborigines made their fishing lines and nets. The river abounded with a species of cod fish, which is common to all the western waters. The lagoons were crowded with wild ducks, and in the muddy beds, near the banks, were abundance of muscles. A fish resembling a carp was also abundant in the lagoons, which the blacks caught by forming in the channel which connected the river and lagoons a weir, into which they drove the fish. For two days the travellers followed the course of the river, in the hope of finding a crossing-place; but failing, chiefly in consequence of the lagoons preventing access to the side of the water, they proceeded in an opposite direction. They now travelled through a rich and beautiful country, where the luxuriant grass frequently reached the heads of the men, and was seldom lower than their breasts. They arrived at a place where the river had narrowed to about forty yards. Here they crossed by a boat made of wicker-work, covered with a tarpauling, hastily put together on the spot. Their way now lay through a fine, thinly-timbered country, its surface hilly or moderately undulating, well-watered even in summer, and occasionally opening out into plains without a tree, but clothed with a splendid vegetation. Between passing the Hume and the 24th, they crossed two other streams, and on that day came upon a third, in latitude 36° 40′, which they named the Ovens, in honour of Colonel Ovens. This was the eighth river which they had encountered. Its waters at that spot were only three feet deep, so that they crossed without difficulty. Natives appeared to be numerous, and kangaroos abounded, but their dogs were so weakened from travelling and other causes, that they were altogether useless for hunting, and the travellers rarely succeeded in killing one of these valuable animals.

On the 3rd of December they came to a river which they named the Hovell, after the other leader of the expedition, which they crossed by means of a large tree which extended from bank to bank. The Hovell was

only a branch of the Goulburn, a river formed by the junction of many smaller streams. It is curious that the Hume, lower down, lost its name, and became the Murray, and the Hovell seems to have vanished altogether from the map of Victoria. The Goulburn ran southerly as far as latitude 37°, when it took a decided turn towards the north-west.

After crossing the Goulburn, the travellers got into a country of dense scrub, and for three days they had to make their way through it by the axe. On the third night they had to camp in the midst of the scrub, in a rocky place, without water from either spring or creek. As it appeared next to impossible to continue this course with their animals, Messrs. Hume and Hovell determined to explore the country for some distance a-head on foot. They set out on the 9th, with provisions for four days, but their journey was one of continual difficulties. They were still involved in a tremendous scrub, and amongst thickly-wooded ranges. At length they ascended a hill of considerable elevation, passing through jungles with a species of long grass, between four and five feet in height, and with sharp edges, which cut like knives (probably the Dianella), they at length stood on the summit, but found it so thickly wooded as to exclude all prospect. They had hoped that from this spot they should have caught sight of the sea, but, failing in that, they named the hill Mount Disappointment. The hill is now a well-known object about thirty-five miles north of Melbourne. Had they had a clear view from its summit, they would have seen the ocean to the south, and a pleasant scene of pastoral country intervening.

From Mount Disappointment they made their way back to their party, and retraced their course to the Goulburn. Thence making a new route, more southerly, on the 11th they caught sight of the ocean. Their spirits revived, and travelling on through a beautiful country, exhibiting an alternation of plain and woodland, likely to afford an unlimited range of sheep and cattle

pasture, they reached at length salt water, and a sandy shore.

Thus was laid open, in fact, the future great colony of Victoria. At what spot on the shore Messrs. Hume and Hovell reached the sea, has been a matter of dispute. Mr. Hovell was of opinion that it was Western Port, but this was certainly too much eastward for the course they had taken from the Goulburn. Mr. Hume believed that they had struck the head of Port Phillip, and this, there can be little question, was the case. They say that after reaching salt water they took a south-westerly course along the shore, and that some blacks gave them Geelong, as an arm of the bay which they were in. This marks pretty clearly that after striking the bay of Port Phillip, they followed the arm of it leading towards the present Port of Geelong, where they learned the name of that arm, and on the 18th, marking their initials on a tree with a tomahawk, they commenced their return homewards. Their route was now between two and three miles to the south-east of their former one.

Nothing remarkable occurred until the 2nd of January, 1825, when the party suddenly fell in with a number of native women and children. Seldom had white men so good an opportunity of witnessing the domestic manners of the aboriginal race, and never was domestic felicity so suddenly disturbed. The children were engaged at play, practising in mimic shape, those arts which are indispensable to the adult of the Australian forest. One boy rolled a circular piece of bark along the ground, whilst the others discharged small spears, formed of reeds, at the moving orb. The women were engaged in spinning the native flax. An old dame, more watchful than the rest, gave the alarm the moment the travellers appeared in sight, exclaiming—"White man! white man! minija! minija!"—that is; "White man! white man! make haste!" and with rapid speed the whole party disappeared in the forest.

On the 8th the last provisions were served out, each

man receiving six pounds of flour, and some tea, and they had still to travel a hundred and fifty miles before they came to the nearest station. Their scanty stock they eked out by occasionally catching fish in the rivers and creeks, and sometimes, but very rarely, they procured a kangaroo by shooting. The cattle were so much injured by the stoney surface over which they had travelled, that it became necessary to cover their feet with mocassins made of kangaroo skins. On the 15th, the whole of the flour was expended, and the next day, the leaders, with two men, hurried forward to the carts which had been left behind with a part of the supplies, leaving the others to follow slowly with the bullocks. The carts, harness, and supplies were found, fortunately, precisely as they had been stowed away. The entire party having reassembled at this place, two men, with some salt meat as provisions, were left in charge of the exhausted cattle, whilst the remainder advanced towards the Murrumbidgee, with the intention of sending back a quantity of provisions to their companions, who, when the cattle were refreshed, would be able to travel homeward. On the 18th the leaders arrived at Mr. Hume's station, near Lake George, whence they had taken their departure on the 17th of October preceding, having thus accomplished their undertaking within sixteen weeks.

Such was the progress, and such the results of an enterprise, the chief merits of which are to be found in the circumstance that it was undertaken at a time when the colony of New South Wales was yet in its infancy. Expeditions had before been undertaken, and in some instances pursued to a successful issue; but this was one of the very first in which, from the distance to be traversed, the dangers and difficulties to be encountered, and the slenderness of the means, as compared to the extent of the enterprise, the explorers risked all, even life, in carrying out a project which none but enterprising men would commence, and none but resolute and energetic men could accomplish. Scientific men had declared that the country through which the greater part

of the journey lay was uninhabitable, if not impassable, and the colonists generally adopted this opinion. Yet, in the face of such discouraging ideas, Hovell and Hume dared and accomplished it, thus linking their names with the finest territories of Australia. They were rewarded with grants of land, according to the promise of the Government, and the men received tickets-of-leave.

The tidings of so splendid a country lying to the eastward of New South Wales, caused a great sensation at Sydney, and Mr. Hovell was despatched in a cutter to form a settlement in the neighbourhood of Western Port, the part of the coast which *he* imagined that himself and Mr. Hume had reached. The settlement did not succeed, the recent discovery of the Brisbane or Manero Downs so much nearer home having drawn the public attention to that district, which grew rapidly into pastoral prosperity. It was exactly ten years from the discovery of the interior of the present colony of Victoria by Hume and Hovell, that the Messrs. Henty, from Van Diemen's Land commenced its colonization by their settlement at Portland Bay, and in the following year, 1835, the rival expeditions of Batman and Fawkner, laid the foundation of Melbourne, its metropolis.

In 1823, Mr. Oxley, who had thrown so much light on the courses of the Lachlan and Macquarie rivers, was sent to ascertain the best site for a penal settlement to the north of Sydney, somewhere about Port Bowen, Port Curtis, or Moreton Bay. On the 23rd of October, whilst examining Moreton Bay, he discovered the Brisbane river, which he thus named, in honour of the then governor. He sailed up it in a boat seventy miles, and could have proceeded much further, but the stock of provisions began to fail. He calculated that vessels of burden could navigate it fifty miles from the sea. The country on each side was of a very superior description, and for the most part very beautiful. It abounded with forests of cypress, and pines of large size. In consequence of his report a penal settlement was founded on the banks of the Brisbane the following year, 1824.

In 1825 and 1826 Mr. Allan Cunningham pursued his botanical researches far to the north of Bathurst, and reaching the great mountain chain, of which the Arbuthnot range is the western extremity, and which runs east to the Manning River, and then to an immense extent northward, discovered Pandora Pass, into the vast Liverpool Plains crossed by Mr. Oxley on his route to Port Macquarie. In 1827 Mr. Cunningham, prosecuting his valuable discoveries, gained the 28th parallel of latitude; and on a subsequent occasion, having taken his departure from Moreton Bay, and connected his former journey with that settlement, he contributed largely to the knowledge of the mountain regions in that direction. He crossed four considerable streams, two of which he named the Gwydir and Dumaresq, leaving their sources and issues to be determined by subsequent explorations. Mr. Allan Cunningham must always be ranked amongst the most enterprising of Australian discoverers. He had, previously to forming one of the party of Mr. Oxley down the Lachlan, circumnavigated the Australian continent with Captain King, and he now laid open an extensive tract of available land, which the settlers at Moreton Bay were not slow to avail themselves of.

It will be observed that all the discoveries which had been made from the moment when a passage was forced through the Blue Mountains to the present hour, however rigorously pursued, were fragmentary, and had, in scarcely a single instance, led to the termination of a single river. The Lachlan and the Macquarie were only traced to great marshes, which cut off farther investigation for the time; the Castlereagh, the Murrumbidgee, the Hume, and the Goulburn, still ran into unknown regions. This circumstance could not but stimulate the spirit of enterprise, and originate new expeditions for the solution of the mystery of the course and debouchure of these various waters. The first of such were the two important expeditions sent out under the command of Captain Sturt, which now demand our attention.

CHAPTER XV.

THE TWO EXPEDITIONS OF CAPTAIN CHARLES STURT INTO THE INTERIOR OF AUSTRALIA, FOR TRACING THE COURSES ON THE MACQUARIE AND MURRUMBIDGEE, AND ENDING IN THE DISCOVERY OF THE DARLING AND THE MURRAY, IN THE YEARS 1828, 1829, 1830, AND 1831.

CAPTAIN STURT'S FIRST EXPEDITION INTO THE INTERIOR.—Discovery of the Darling and Murray.—Captain Sturt's eminent qualifications for an explorer.—Necessity for discovering lands further from Sydney.—Expedition of Sturt ordered to explore the farther courses of the Lachlan and Macquarie.—Wentworth's idea of the course of the great rivers of Australia.—Mr. Hamilton Hume and Surgeon M'Leod accompanied Captain Sturt.—They enter on the vast plains described by Oxley.—Mr. Oxley's death at Sydney.—Channels of the Macquarie and other rivers found dry.—Oxley's Table Land.—D'Urban's Group.—Chain of ponds.—Discovery of the river Darling, but salt.—Natives fired the bush.—Stopped by want of water.—Return to Mount Harris.—Followed Oxley's course north-east to the Castlereagh river—and traced it to the Darling.—Terrible condition of the natives and the country from drought.—Channels of the chief rivers all running south-west.—Return.—SECOND EXPEDITION OF CAPTAIN STURT.—Descent of the Murrumbidgee and Murray.—Setting out of the party.—Mr. Hume's station.—Crossed the Murrumbidgee near Pondebadgery Plains.—Hamilton Plains.—Approach the Lachlan.—Few natives.—Find themselves in the low plains again.—Reedy swamps.—Some of the party descend the river in boats.—Character of the river and country.—Suddenly enter the Murray.—Surprise at the grand scale of the river.—The great alluvial flats on its banks.—Huge trees and chains of ponds.—The natives numerous and bold.—Attempt of the natives to stop them.—A sharp crisis.—Preparations for a fight.—Interposition of a native.—They escape.—Parley with a fresh crowd of natives.—Providential escape.—Reward the friendly native.—Discover the junction of the Darling with the Murray.—Advance some distance up the Darling.—Miserably diseased condition of the natives.—Pass the river Rufus.—Windings and high cliffs on the Murray as they descend.—Great flocks of birds.—Sea-gulls.—Change of the river southward.—The lake of Alexandrina.—Attempt to reach the sea by the channel from the lake.—Passage unfit for ships.—Found themselves in Encounter Bay.—Vast flocks of water-fowls.—The Murray thus traced to the sea.—The question of their return.—Their provisions very insufficient, and themselves much weakened.—How to pull up against the stream many hundred miles.—This arduous labour, however, performed.—Difficulties with the natives.—Starvation on the Murrumbidgee.—Failing powers of the party, rescue and return.—Captain Sturt blind in consequence of his sufferings.—Captain Barker on the shore of Lake Alexandrina killed by the savages.

CAPTAIN STURT was in spirit, temperament, and accomplishments, thoroughly cut out for an explorer. He went to Sydney with his regiment, the 39th, young and ardent, and soon grew attached to the features of the vast new country around him, and his imagination ex-

cited by the mysterious character of its interior. "In a climate," he says, in the opening of his first expedition, "so soft that man scarcely requires a dwelling, and so enchanting that few have left it without regret, the spirits must necessarily be acted upon, and the heart feels lighter. Such, indeed, I have myself found to be the case; nor have I ever been happier than when roving through the woods, or wandering along one of the silent and beautiful bays, for which the harbour of Port Jackson is so celebrated."

That is said in the true spirit of an explorer; and, in fact, no man is happier than one who is possessed by the love of nature and of adventure, and finds himself on the eve of its indulgence. We shall see that Captain Sturt, by his address, his kindness to his companions and followers, his indomitable spirit of perseverance, and his steadfast humanity to the natives, even under most trying provocations, was most worthy of the success which he achieved. He went to Australia strongly prejudiced against both the country and the settlers, but he remained when his regiment returned, and rendered signal services to the country.

It was at the time of his early residence in Sydney a current opinion, that the western interior of Australia comprehended an extensive basin, of which the ocean of reeds which checked the course of Mr. Oxley formed most probably the outskirts; and it was generally thought that an expedition despatched to ascertain this fact, would encounter marshes of vast extent, which it would be extremely difficult to turn, and no less dangerous to enter. This was the problem which Captain Sturt was appointed to solve in 1826, and which he undertook with unflinching courage. There was this circumstance at the moment in his favour. At the time when Oxley descended the Macquarie, there had been great rains, and the rivers were swelled, and the marshes naturally expanded; but in 1826, and during the two following years, there prevailed one of those extreme droughts which periodically visit Australia. "The sur-

face of the earth," observes Mr. Sturt, "became so parched up, that minor vegetation ceased upon it. Culinary herbs were raised with difficulty, and crops failed even in the most favourable situations. Settlers drove their flocks and herds to distant tracts for pasture and water, neither of them remaining for them in the located districts. The interior suffered equally with the coasts, and men at length began to despond under so alarming a visitation. It almost appeared as if the Australian sky were never to be again traversed by a cloud."

But all this was directly in favour of the exploration of those marshy interior regions which had cut short the progress of Oxley in 1818. Accordingly, in September, 1828, Governor Darling gave orders to Captain Sturt to prepare for a journey to the Macquarie for the purpose of endeavouring to trace that river to its termination, if possible; whether that should take place in some greater river, in an inland lake, or in the western ocean. Some distinguished persons, and amongst these was Mr. W. C. Wentworth, had a strong persuasion that the issue of the interior waters would be found on some part of the north-western coast which had not yet been examined with sufficient accuracy. It had not yet been proved to the Australian colonists that one of the peculiar features of that continent was that every one of its large streams terminated in a lake, and their debouchure was, therefore, hidden from the observation of the explorers of the coasts. This they might have recollected was the case with the streams at Sydney, and at Port Phillip, but it had yet to be demonstrated in a more striking manner.

Mr. Hamilton Hume, one of the discoverers of the Port Phillip district, and staff surgeon M'Leod were appointed to accompany him. On the 10th of September they set out from Sydney on route for Bathurst, where they received the men and cattle which were to make the sum of their expeditionary force. These consisted of two soldiers and eight prisoners of the crown, two of whom were to return with the despatches. The animals

were two riding and seven pack horses, two draft and eight pack bullocks, exclusive of two horses of Captain Sturt's own, and two for the men who were to be sent back. It was not till the 7th of December that they had their stores and everything in readiness to leave Bathurst. They crossed to the right bank of the Macquarie, near the junction of Bell River, and proceeded along the Wellington Valley. They found the streams falling into the Macquarie, which Oxley described so fully, now dry, and the Macquarie so low that no boat could be put upon it. The thermometer sometimes stood at 129° Fahrenheit in the shade and 149° in the sun.

On the 20th they reached Mount Harris, where they encamped. The river at that place which overflowed its banks when Mr. Oxley was there ten years before, could now be scarcely perceived in its channel. From the top of Mount Harris, Captain Sturt gazed over the vast flat north-west, in which direction he had to steer his course, and nothing but Mount Foster on the opposite bank of the river broke the immense ocean-like expanse to the horizon nearly all round. Already two of his men were affected with inflammation of the eyes, a malady with which those desert marshes greatly persecuted the explorers. Captain Sturt, in surveying the huge and gloomy prospect before him, says that he naturally asked himself whether he should succeed better than Mr. Oxley, whom he had followed to the grave but the week before he left Sydney.

On the 26th they were approaching the marshes which had compelled the return of Mr. Oxley; and they sent back two of the men, as agreed, with despatches to the governor informing him of the fact. Here, after gazing over the dreary expanse of reeds and scrubs of polygonum, they encamped amid the reeds, and resolved to launch the boat which they had brought with them, and that Captain Sturt should endeavour to descend the river for a week, while Mr. Hume made a journey on horseback, accompanied by two men, towards to the north. In

proceeding in the boat accompanied also by two men, Captain Sturt soon left the flooded gums which had hitherto lined the banks of the stream, and found nothing but reeds. The channel of the stream soon ceased, and lost itself by different smaller channels in the marshes. The bittern, various tribes of the gallinule and frogs made incessant noises around them, but they could discover no signs of an extensive lake. They returned to their camp, where they found Mr. Hume, who had also been compelled to return by the marshes.

Still endeavouring to advance northward, alternately through flooded grounds, sandy plains, and scrubby patches of wood, they found an isolated extent of creek, where they again parted. Captain Sturt rode over a similar country for 200 miles, passing some natives, who fled at the sight of men on horseback; he at length had reached a hill, and saw one or two others, a little varying this monotonous scene. He named these hills Oxley's Table Land, and D'Urban's Group. Mr. Hume returned, having crossed a chain of ponds about four miles to the westward. As both Mr. Hume and others of the party complained of illness, they struck the tents, and pushed on for these ponds. Mr. Hume reported that he had travelled far ahead W.S.W. and W.N.W., and had crossed various creeks, another chain of ponds, and had seen hills to the north. They now determined to go on northward. They crossed still great plains covered with shells, and claws of crawfish, and bearing all the marks of being at times under water. Whenever they came upon, and followed a creek, it soon lost itself again in marshes. In this manner, persecuted by mosquitoes, often by want of water, and, at one place, by a terrible species of fly called the kangaroo-fly; sometimes finding a patch of forest, and a group of natives; it was not till the 4th of February, 1829, that they suddenly came upon a considerable river, running from the north-east to the south-west. Its channel was from 70 to 80 yards wide, deep, and covered with pelicans and other wild fowl. To this they gave the name of the

Darling; but to their great disappointment they found the water quite salt. This greatly surprised them, and they began to imagine that it was connected with some inland sea. The cattle were severely suffering from thirst and heat, but fortunately they found fresh water in the neighbourhood. They traced the river downwards for many miles; its banks shaded by the flooded gums of great size. Coming on a camp of natives, these set fire to the bush to drive them back. The plains on each side of the river continued of a light sandy loom, and they soon ascertained that the river derived its saltness from brine springs in its bottom. Having traced the river down to latitude 29° 37′ S., and longitude 145° 33′, they still followed it for about 60 miles in a south-west direction, and then deemed it advisable to return. Near latitude 30° they found a creek, which they called New Year's Creek, which came from the eastward, and fell into the Darling. This they felt satisfied was the continuance of the Macquarie after its escape from the great marshes. They then traced the river upwards for a considerable distance, probably 60 miles, and then made the best of their way back to Mount Harris. Their progress was greatly impeded by the natives firing the reeds, which in their dry condition spread the flame over a great extent of country.

After resting and getting refreshments at Mount Harris, and sending despatches to Sydney, they struck across the country north-eastward for Castlereagh River. They left Mount Harris on the 8th of March, and on the 10th reached the bed of the Castlereagh, for river there was none. That which had been a river when seen by Mr. Oxley, full to the banks, was now a dry channel of sand and reeds. They followed this channel through an indifferent country, continually growing worse, I suppose for about an hundred miles, when it joined the Darling. For five-and-forty miles there was not a drop of water in the Castlereagh; frequently its bed was overgrown with brambles. They had to seek out for lagoons and scattered creeks for water. The Darling, on

reaching it in the 30th degree of latitude, was as salt as lower down. There were groups of miserable natives here and there, and occasionally woods of rough-gum, casuarina, and angophora. They had travelled from the 8th to the 29th of March, before they reached the Darling, that is three weeks. They reached Mount Harris on their return, on the 7th of April, whence they hastened home.

They had added considerable knowledge of this desolate country to that already possessed. They had discovered parts of a new river, the Darling, and had traced both the Castlereagh and the Macquarie into it. But at the same time their conclusion was, that this region could never be of much use to civilized man. Sometimes much of it was under water, at others, for years it was consumed with drought. The very beds of rivers were overgrown with rushes and trees, so long did these droughts continue. The natives on the Macquarie were infested with a most loathsome skin complaint, and on the Castlereagh they were in a condition of starvation. "I am giving no false picture," says Captain Sturt, "of the reality. So long had the drought continued, that the vegetable kingdom was almost annihilated, and minor vegetation had disappeared. In the creeks, weeds had grown and withered, and grown again; and young saplings were now rising in their beds, nourished by the moisture that still remained; but the largest forest trees were drooping, and many were dead. The emus, with outstretched necks, gasping for breath, searched the channels of the rivers for water in vain; and the native dog, so thin that it could hardly walk, seemed to implore some merciful hand to dispatch it. How the natives subsisted it was difficult to say, but there was no doubt of the scarcity of food amongst them."—Vol. i. p. 145.

THE SECOND EXPEDITION OF CAPTAIN STURT: THE DESCENT OF THE MURRUMBIDGEE, AND DISCOVERY OF THE MURRAY.

The facts prominently established by the preceding

expedition of Captain Sturt, namely, that however uninviting was the vast tract of country traversed by the Macquarie, and those sections of the Darling they discovered, yet instead of a shoal interior sea, there was a great, and it might be, a better country still unexplored beyond the Darling; and still more, that the course of the Darling, the depository of the waters of the Macquarie and the Castlereagh, instead of north-west as previously expected, was decidedly south-west, and thus raised a belief that the Darling, or some river into which both it and the Lochlan debouched, found its way to the ocean in that direction. A second expedition was therefore prepared in 1829, by Governor Darling, and again entrusted to Captain Sturt. This time he was to descend the newly discovered river, Murrumbidgee, which lay so much farther to the south, that it would probably lead to the main river, now imagined to exist, and towards which the various waters from the eastern chain of mountains seemed all to direct themselves.

As no boat could be already built for them on the Murrumbidgee, as there had been on the Macquarie, no settlement having been founded on its banks, he was ordered to take a whale-boat, ready prepared in pieces, so as to be put together when it should be found necessary. This time Mr. Hume declined accompanying Captain Sturt, as it was the season for getting in his crops; and instead of him Mr. George M'Leay, the son of Mr. Alexander M'Leay, the colonial secretary, volunteered to take his place. Captain Sturt took again with him Harris, his servant, and Hopkinson and Frazer, the two soldiers, who with Harris, had been on the former expedition, and who had all behaved so well. It was on the 10th of November, 1828, that the first expedition left Sydney, and on the 3rd of the same month of 1829, this second one set out. We are not informed exactly of the strength of the party, or the number of horses, but that everything necessary had been provided for the comfort and safety of the party, and the success of the expedition. Every individual was this time furnished

with fire-arms; and a vessel was despatched to lie to in St. Vincent's Gulf, to receive the party, should it come out in that neighbourhood. The scene of the setting forth of the party as described by Captain Sturt, is interesting:—

"At a quarter past 7 A.M., the party filed through the turnpike-gate, and thus commenced its journey with the greatest regularity. I have the scene, even at this distance of time, vividly impressed upon my mind, and I have no doubt the kind friend who was near me on the occasion (Mr. Deas Thomson), bears it as strongly in his recollection. My servant, Harris, who had shared my wanderings, and had continued in my service for eighteen years, led the advance, with his companion, Hopkinson. Nearly abreast of them the eccentric Frazer stalked along, wholly lost in thought. The two former had laid aside their military habits, and had substituted the broad-brimmed hat and the bushman's dress in their place, but it was impossible to guess how Frazer intended to protect himself from the heat or the damp, so little were his habiliments suited for the occasion. He had his gun over his shoulder, and his double shot-belt as full as it could be of shot, although there was not a chance of expending a grain during the day. Some dogs Mr. Maxwell had kindly sent me followed close at his heels, as if they knew his interest in them, and they really seemed as if they were aware that they were about to exchange their late confinement for the freedom of the woods. The whole of these formed a kind of advanced guard. At some distance in the rear the drays moved slowly along, on one of which rode the black boy mentioned in my former volume, and behind them followed the pack-animals. Robert Harris, whom I had appointed to superintend the animals generally, kept his place near the horses; and the heavy Clayton, my carpenter, brought up the rear."

In this style they took the way by the Wallandilly to Goulburn Plains, and thence to Breadalbane Plains, halting at the houses of squatting friends on the way.

On the 18th, they were at the station of Mr. Hume, on the Lorn, a river near Lake George, which runs thence to the Lachlan; thence they went on to Yass Plains, to a station of Mr. O'Brien's; to Underaliga, a station of Dr. Harris, who had formerly accompanied Mr. Oxley, when their guide deserted them. They were then only thirty miles from the Murrumbidgee; and on their way to it, crossed one of its tributaries, the Tumut, or as often corrupted by the common people, the Tumult. At about five miles from Whaby's station, they crossed the Murrumbidgee, a fretful mountain stream, amid very wild, hilly scenery. The river continued rapidly descending in a very varied course, amid hilly and forest land, capable of much pasturage for sheep and cattle, when they found themselves on the Pondebadgery Plain, about three miles long, and two broad, surrounded by beautiful hills, and possessed of a soil of extreme richness; such, in fact, says Captain Sturt, are all the flats that adorn the banks of the Murrumbidgee. Here the men regaled themselves on the river cod, weighing from six pounds to forty.

As they advanced, the river continuing to run nearly N.W. by W., the hills gradually declined, and the country assumed, more and more the character of that on the Macquarie and the Lachlan. When in latitude 34° 41′ and longitude 146° 50′, they passed some fine plains, which they named Hamilton Plains, and it will be seen, by the chart at 146° of longitude, they had approached to within thirty miles of Mount Caley, the most southern point of divergence of Oxley, on his expedition down the Lachlan. Of this, however, they appeared at the time to be unaware. They continued, occasionally, to pass through fine forests of cypress, eucalyptus, and casuarina, to meet with some few natives, and to see, ever and anon, kangaroos. Yet Captain Sturt says, that the natives could not be numerous, for in the extent of more than 180 miles, they had not seen above fifty of them.

When they had advanced so far, that the hills which

they had seen to the north, had disappeared, they became aware that they were probably those under which Mr. Oxley had encamped. They saw a native, who said he had seen the tracks of their horses on the Darling, and the natives began to talk of the Colare, which the people on the Macquarie, had called the Lachlan. The character of the country confirmed this idea, and Captain Sturt and George M'Leay, mounted their horses to ride to them. But they were now too far off, and after riding about eighteen miles over rough country, they returned to the camp. They then continued their course down the river, which now ran more westerly, and continually penetrated into a more and more dismal country, a country of cypress, low, sandy ridges and reedy swamps, where grew also the acacia pendula, the stenochylus, and rhagodia. No fresh stream had fallen into the Murrumbidgee since they left the Tumut; the drays sank into the soft alluvial ground as they passed; the cattle were growing exhausted, and neither bird nor beast was to be seen. When they reached the 144th degree of longitude, the country was one great reedy swamp, such as Oxley had from the termination of his course on the Lachlan. They had a notion that they must be near the junction of that river, and Captain Sturt and George M'Leay, again rode forth to try if they could not find it, but they were soon brought to a stand by the bogs, and returned to the camp, determined to put together the whale boat, and a small skiff to carry part of their provisions, and so fall down the river.

The boats were ready in a few days and stored with provisions, and a still, to distil, to procure fresh from salt water, should it become necessary on the Darling. Besides himself and M'Leay, Captain Sturt, took as a crew, six of his men—his servant Harris, Frazer, Hopkinson, Clayton the boat-builder, Mulholland and Macnamee. The rest returned with drays under the care of another Harris, Robert, to Goulburn Plains,

where they were to remain till the return of the party, or till they received other orders from Sydney.

The river on which they were now embarked, gave no signs of failing, as the Macquarie had done, and about fifteen miles below, they came upon the junction of the Lachlan. The land, where bare of reeds, was of the same red sandy loam as most of the plains of the Lachlan and Macquarie. That day they proceeded about thirty miles in a very winding course, the general bearing being westerly. The next day the skiff which they towed after them, struck on a sunken snag, and went to the bottom, thus spoiling a considerable part of their provisions, and losing their still, which, however, they fished up by amazing exertions, in diving, and again set the skiff afloat. Whilst engaged in this arduous business, some natives who had joined them, and appeared very friendly, managed to rob them of a frying-pan, three cutlasses, five tomahawks, and other things.

On the 13th of January, 1830, they passed the first running stream falling into the river from the S.E., that had joined the Murrumbidgee for more than 340 miles. This was probably the stream from the Lake Yangar. Instead of the river growing larger, however, it now narrowed, but ran with much increased velocity, at the same time that it was thickly overshadowed with trees, and abounded with fallen ones, causing them momentary danger. At once, however, when full of gloomy apprehensions, they shot out into a broad and noble river, and gazed in astonishment on the capacious channel they had entered. The Murrumbidgee had narrowed to about fifty feet. This stream measured across 350 feet, and was from twelve to twenty feet deep. They had discovered the Murray—for this was the name they gave it. They comprehended as the Murrumbidgee entered the Murray from the north, that the three rivers crossed by Hume and Hovell more to the S.E., the Hume, the Ovens, and the Goulburn, had united above, and formed this noble flood. They en-

camped in great exultation on its bank, and saw its transparent waters running over a sandy bed, at two-and-a-half knots an hour, and its banks, although averaging eighteen feet in height, as evidently subject to floods.

It is beyond my limits to follow Captain Sturt's minute description of every portion of the Murray, in their triumphant voyage down it to its very mouth. I can only note the chief features. The river, he remarks, raised their hopes to the highest pitch. Its breadth varied from 150 to 200 yards, and only in one place, where a reef of ironstone stretched nearly across from the left bank, so as to contract the channel near the right, and to form a considerable rapid, was there any apparent obstruction to their voyage. They soon observed that the river had two banks on each side; the steep one direct from the water; and another at a greater or less distance, the level of the country. The flats within these outer banks were often wide, and generally bore marks of being flooded at some season of the year. These alluvial flats, had been indirectly accumulated by the deposits of floods, and were thus raised above the water for the greater part of the year. They abounded with grass, and the margins of the river were shaded with large blue-gums.

From the moment that they entered on this fine stream, the natives became numerous, and though not generally hostile, were very troublesome by their curiosity, and propensity to filching. They frequently swam off to the boat, and impeded the use of the oars by crowding close upon it, whilst the women on the shores kept up wild shouts and yells. They were seldom without a horde of these teasing people, and ere long they presented a hostile aspect at a dangerous spot, through which they passed in a manner best described in Captain Sturt's words, as they demonstrate the great address with which he managed to pass through such tribes of them without collision, and also, as he himself avers, the clear interposition of a good Providence, who

was favouring the enterprise, for the time was evidently come to open up these lands.

"As we sailed down the stream we observed a vast number of natives under the trees, and on a nearer approach, we not only heard their war-song, if it might be so called, but remarked that they were painted and armed, as they generally are prior to their engaging in a deadly conflict. Notwithstanding these outward signs of hostility, fancying that our four friends were with them, I continued to steer directly in for the bank on which they were collected. I found, however, when it was almost too late to turn into the succeeding reach to our left, that an attempt to land would only be attended with loss of life. The natives seemed determined to resist it. We approached so near, that they held their spears quivering in their grasp ready to hurl. They were painted in various ways. Some who had marked their ribs, and thighs, and faces, with a white pigment, looked like skeletons; others were daubed with red and yellow ochre, and their bodies shone with the grease with which they had besmeared themselves. A dead silence prevailed amongst the front ranks, but those in the back-ground, as well as the women who carried supplies of darts, and who appeared to have had a bucket of whitewash capsized over their heads, were extremely clamorous. As I did not wish a conflict with these people, I lowered my sail, and putting the helm to starboard, we passed quietly down the stream in mid-channel. Disappointed in their anticipations, the natives ran along the bank of the river, endeavouring to secure an aim at us; but unable to throw with certainty, in consequence of the onward motion of the boat, they flung themselves into the most extravagant attitudes, and worked themselves into a frenzy by loud and vehement shouting.

"It was with considerable apprehension that I observed the river to be shoaling fast, more especially as a huge sand-bank, a little below us, and on the same side on which the natives had gathered, projected nearly a third

of the way across the channel. To this sand-bank they ran with tumultuous uproar, and covered it over in a dense mass. Some of the chiefs advanced into the water, to be nearer their victims, and turned from time to time to direct their followers. With every pacific disposition, and an extreme reluctance to take away life, I foresaw that it would be impossible any longer to avoid an engagement, yet with such fearful numbers against us, I was doubtful of the result. The spectacle we had witnessed had been one of the most appaling kind, and sufficient to shake the firmness of most men; but at that trying moment, my little band preserved their usual coolness, and if anything could be gleaned from their countenances, it was that they had determined on an obstinate resistance. I now explained to them that their only chance of escape depended, or would depend, on their firmness. I desired that after the first volley had been fired, M'Leay and three of the men would attend to the defence of the boat with bayonets only, while I, Hopkinson, and Harris, would keep up the fire, as being more used to it. I ordered, however, that no shot was to be fired until after I had discharged both my barrels. I then delivered their arms to the men, which had, as yet, been kept in the place appropriated for them, and at the same time, some rounds of loose cartridge. The men assured me they would follow my instructions, and thus prepared, having already lowered the sail, we drifted onwards with the current. As we neared the sand-bank I stood up, and made signs to the natives to desist, but without success. I took up my gun, therefore, and cocking it, had already brought it down to a level. A few seconds more would have closed the life of the nearest of the savages. The distance was too trifling for me to doubt the fatal effects of the discharge, for I was determined to take deadly aim, in the hope that the fall of one man might save the lives of many. But at the very moment when my hand was on the trigger, and my eye was along the barrel, my purpose was checked by M'Leay, who called to me that another party of blacks

had made their appearance upon the left bank of the river. Turning, I observed four men at the top of their speed. The foremost of them, as soon as he got ahead of the boat, threw himself from a considerable height into the water. He struggled across the channel to the sand-bank, and in an incredibly short space of time, stood in front of the savage, against whom my aim had been directed. Seizing him by the throat, he pushed him backwards, and forcing all who were in the water upon the bank, he trod its margin with a vehemence and an agitation that were exceedingly striking. At one moment pointing to the boat, at another shaking his clenched hand in the faces of the most forward, and stamping with passion on the sand: his voice, that at first was distinct and clear, was lost in hoarse murmurs. Two of the four natives remained on the left bank of the river, but the third followed his leader—who proved to be the remarkable savage I had previously noticed—to the scene of action. The reader will imagine my feelings on this occasion: it is impossible to describe them. We were so wholly lost in interest in the scene that was passing, that the boat was allowed to drift at pleasure. For my own part, I was overwhelmed with astonishment, and in truth, stunned and confused; so singular, so unexpected, and so strikingly providential had been our escape."—Vol. ii. p. 102.

At the moment that this wise and generous savage was exerting himself with his countrymen to prevent an attack on the strangers, these saw a new arrival of about seventy blacks on the right bank of the river, and Captain Sturt was determined to create a diversion, by pushing the boat over to that bank, and by advancing in peaceful confidence towards these new arrivers. This fully succeeded; he and M'Leay landed, and went towards them: they were received in a friendly manner, and the hostile crowd seeing this, at once abandoned their threatening manner, swam over to them, and they were soon surrounded by hundreds of blacks, who now showed themselves peaceful. The sentiments expressed

by Captain Sturt on this turn of affairs do him great honour:—"Thus, in less than a quarter of an hour from the moment when it appeared that all human intervention was at an end, and we were on the point of commencing a bloody fray, which, independently of its own disastrous consequences, would have blasted the success of the expedition, we were peacefully surrounded by the hundreds who had so lately threatened us with destruction; nor was it until we had returned to the boat, and had surveyed the multitude from the sloping bank above us, that we became fully aware of the extent of our danger, and of the almost miraculous intervention of Providence in our favour. There could not have been less than six hundred natives upon that blackened sward. But this was not the only occasion upon which the merciful superintendence of that Providence, to which we had humbly committed ourselves, was strikingly manifested. If these pages fail to convey entertainment, or information, sufficient may at least be gleaned from them to furnish matter for serious reflection; but to those who have been placed in situations of danger, where human ingenuity availed them not, and where human foresight was baffled, I feel persuaded that these remarks are unnecessary."—P. 107.

Captain Sturt took immediate measures to show the brave and friendly native his sense of gratitude, by presenting him with valuable articles, at the same time that he refused the solicitations of the late hostile chief, to mark the difference. At this moment a new event of importance occurred. They found themselves at the mouth of a new river, coming from the north. They had calculated that the Darling, did it continue the course it held when they first saw it, must fall into this river somewhere hereabouts, and here it was. They turned their boat to sail into it, but found the current so strong that they were obliged to use another pair of oars. It had a breadth of a hundred yards, and a depth of more than twelve feet. Its banks were sloping and grassy, and overhung by trees of magnificent size.

Its appearance was so different from the water-worn banks of the Murray, that the men exclaimed that they were got into an English river. Its waters were now sweet, but turbid, and had a taste of vegetable decay, as well as a slight tinge of green. It told of its passage through extensive marshes. The natives accompanied their movements on each bank in noisy crowds, till their progress, after some miles, was checked by a net drawn across the stream. Desirous to give no offence to the natives, they then put their boat about, and hoisting the Union Jack, they all stood up, and gave three hearty cheers, to the great amazement of the natives. The boat now having wind and the strong current in its favour, shot away with a velocity that surprised even the voyagers themselves, and left in a few minutes the throng of wondering savages far behind.

The new river they found meeting the Murray on a N. by E. course, and the Murray itself running W.S.W., so that at the confluence they formed an angle so small, that each might be considered to preserve its own course, and neither to become tributary to the other. The strength of their currents appeared to be equal, for there was a distinct line between their respective waters for some distance, one half being turbid, the other half clear. They calculated that the Darling had run 300 miles from the lowest portion of it that they had seen to its junction with the Murray. They had calculated the Darling there to be 200 feet above the sea; they now thought the Murray about 100 feet above the sea.

As they proceeded, vast flights of wild fowl passed over them, and the river showed a descending country by repeated rapids. The natives abounded; continued to follow them along the banks, and sent messengers forward to announce their approach to tribes lower down. They now broke up the skiff which they had drawn after them, and thus increased their speed. They left the junction of the rivers on the 24th of January, and the country through which they were passing on the 26th was very low, full of lagoons, and thickly in-

habited by a very diseased population, many of whom had lost their noses and were otherwise disfigured. The condition of the women was especially miserable, and their countenances hideous. Yet these people surrounded them with a most amazing curiosity, insisting on handling them all over to ascertain what they were; and frequently they were obliged to resort to blows before they could disengage themselves from their loathsome importunities, their hands being always covered with grease and dirt, that left their marks behind them.

They soon passed a stream which fell into the Murray, from the north, and to which they gave the name of Rufus, from M'Leay's red hair, and in a while after two others, one coming from the N.E., the other from the north. To the larger one, coming from the S.E., they gave the name of the Lindesay, lying in east longitude 140° 29′, and latitude 33° 58′ south. They still found themselves descending rapids, and the left bank of the river rising 100 feet above the level of the water. This was on the 28th. The cliffs, formed of sand and clay, assumed singular columnar forms, with capitals resembling the Corinthian order. The natives grew more and more numerous, amounting to nearly 300 in one tribe. The next day the country assumed a barren and inhospitable character, covered with scrub and cypress woods. The river wound about extremely, still flowing between its deep banks; some of the cliffs 150 feet high, having the singular appearance of piles of human skulls, having been washed into these forms by the action of the water. Soon after the cliffs changed to a bright yellow, with tops cut quite level, and running first on one side of the river, and then on the other, for about a quarter of a mile, alternately. Beyond the banks of the river, stretched away on either hand, vast and melancholy flats. After many tortuous windings, the cliffs growing higher and higher, and of a more golden colour, the river suddenly altered its course to the south, in about longitude 139° 40′, and latitude 34°, and so continued to run. They now had some expanses

of fine country, could see mountains to the N.W., which they calculated to be near the sea-coast, and that they were themselves about seventy miles from Spencer's Gulf. Eagles were seen soaring about the cliffs, great flocks of cockatoos, crows, and other birds appeared, the most welcome of which were sea-gulls, the harbingers of approach to the ocean. An old man had gone on with them for several days in the boat, but he now took his leave, and joined a tribe of upwards of 200.

From where the river turned to the south, they found it running in that direction with some considerable curves to about 35° 15′ latitude, when they entered a magnificent lake, bearing south-west. As they had approached this great lake the alluvial flats on each side had become more extensive. The country to the right was beautiful, and several valleys branched away on that side of most attractive appearance, and seeming to abound with kangaroos. Gales began to blow from the S.W. strongly, as from an open sea. They saw ranges of hills at about forty miles distance, declining towards the south, but terminating in a lofty mountain northward, which they set down to be the Mount Lofty of Flinders. Between them and the ranges a beautiful promontory stretched into the lake, which was a continuation of the right bank of the Murray, and over this promontory the water stretched to the base of the ranges, and formed an extensive bay.

It may be imagined with what feelings they sailed across this lake. It was now thirty-three days since they left the depôt on the Murrumbidgee, twenty-six of which had been spent on the Murray. They calculated the length of the lake at fifty-three miles, and that its width from S.E. to N.W., at quite as much. Much of the space they sailed over, however, they found very shoal, and that as they approached the south-west extremity its waters became salt. At this end of the lake they came to some low, wooded hills, after passing a rocky island, and there they landed, observing a channel opening towards the sea about half-a-mile wide, bounded

on the left by the line of hills under which they drew up, and on the right by open, flat ground. On these hills were natives, who showed no friendly aspect, notwithstanding which, they encamped for the night on a flat, surrounded by these hills, having Mount Barker to the north, and the ranges about twelve miles distant. These ranges bore away S.S.W., and they did not doubt terminated in Cape Jervis.

The next morning they endeavoured to sail down the channel to the sea, but they found it extremely winding, and full of shoals, and after repeated efforts to drag the boat over them, Captain Sturt, with M'Leay and Frazer, made their way over the sand-hummocks to the sea-shore, and found that they had struck the south coast deep in the bight of Encounter Bay. They convinced themselves that this channel was no passage for ships, and returned towards the lake. As they did this they were amused by a curious effect of refracted light. Innumerable flocks of wild fowls stood in rows along the sides of the pools left by the tide. Pelicans, ducks, and geese were mingled together, and according to their distances presented different appearances. Some were exceedingly tall and thin, others were unnaturally broad. Some appeared reversed, or as if they were standing on their heads, and the slightest motion, particularly the flapping of their wings, produced a most ridiculous effect.

They had now effected their great discovery, but the serious question which at this moment forced itself upon their mind was, how were they to return? There was no chance of getting the boat out to the open sea in defiance of shoals and tremendous breakers. They could not, therefore, go in quest of the promised vessel in the Gulf of St. Vincent, nor attempt the more perilous voyage across to Van Diemen's Land, or coastwise to the distant Sydney. It was found that their party was too much exhausted to cross the ranges to the Gulf of St. Vincent, carrying their provisions, and with the chance of not finding the vessel there. After all, it ap-

peared the most likely scheme to return again up the river; but even this scheme was doubtful, and was full of danger. Their provisions were so reduced, that they could not last them to Pondebadgery, the nearest place where they expected to find supplies, except by extreme care, and with extreme good fortune. They were all greatly worn down by their long course of exertion, and could not calculate that they should escape so well from the natives a second time, especially as they were pulling up against the stream. They saw clearly that any delay would leave them totally destitute of food, and any accident, such as the staving-in of the boat, by leaving them at the mercy of the natives, would be fatal. It was obvious to them all that their difficulties were only now about to commence. But the men expressed themselves ready for the trial; Captain Sturt said he felt a strong confidence in the good Providence who had so singularly helped them so far; and it was resolved to ascend the river again, both Captain Sturt and George M'Leay determining to take their share of labour of rowing as fully as the men.

On the 14th of January, therefore, they turned their faces homewards at noon, and the next day again entered the Murray: and as they surveyed its immense valleys, they came to the conclusion that if its hundreds of thousands of acres were sufficiently secure from floods, it was one of the richest spots of equal extent on earth, and highly favoured in other respects. As I have traced the expedition down the river, there is no occasion to do more than give a succinct sketch of its return. The whole of the party had to rise at dawn and pull up the stream till seven, and often till nine o'clock in the evening, with a rest of an hour at noon, when their dinner was only bread and water. Their dogs had become too weak to catch emu or kangaroo, and fish the men loathed. They found the natives as troublesome as ever, when apparently friendly crowding round them, handling them all over, and not driven back without endangering hostilities. They again occupied an island in the river,

armed, and menaced opposition, but by good address they managed to get past without blows. One day they were obliged to pull eleven hours to get clear of the natives, who lined the banks, and perseveringly followed them; and so exhausted were they, that some of them fell asleep at their oars. They had enormous difficulty in getting up one of the rapids, but here the natives were induced to help them, by pulling at a rope.

On entering the Murrumbidgee again, they calculated that they had travelled down and up these rivers not less than 1500 miles. Whilst amongst the reeds of the lower part of the Murrumbidgee, they were compelled twice to fire a charge of small shot at the natives, the only occasions on the voyage on which they were obliged to do so. In these instances the object was not to kill, but to teach them to keep at a greater distance; for Captain Sturt, though a soldier, throughout showed the most laudable anxiety to avoid bloodshed, both as a matter of humanity and of good policy. His hope was to create no difficulty for any succeeding explorers, but, on the contrary, to leave a friendly feeling amongst the natives, so that the way might be more open than before; and he congratulates himself in terms very honourable to him, that "his path among a large and savage population was a bloodless one." This sentiment is such a one as we might expect to discover in a mind which also, on reviewing his journey, induced him to add,—"Something more powerful than human foresight or human prudence, appeared to avert the calamities and dangers with which I and my companions were so frequently threatened; and had it not been for the guidance and protection we received from the providence of that good and all-wise Being, to whose care we committed ourselves, we should, ere this, have ceased to rank among the number of his earthly creatures." These noble and pious ideas ought to be deeply reflected on by all who enter on the great task of opening up the unknown regions of our planet. They give me a high estimate of the moral character of Captain Sturt.

As they rowed up the Murrumbidgee, on the very point of starvation and of succumbing beneath their toils and privations, these began to show themselves in the men in various ways. "The Murrumbidgee rose upon us six feet in one night, and poured along its turbid waters with prodigious violence. For seventeen days we pulled against them with determined perseverance, but human efforts under privations such as ours, tend to weaken themselves; and thus it was that the men began to exhibit the effects of severe and unremitting toil. Our journeys were short, and the head we made against the stream but trifling. The men lost the proper and muscular jerk with which they once made the waters foam and the oars bend. Their whole bodies swung with an awkward and laboured motion. Their arms appeared to be nerveless, their faces became haggard, their persons emaciated, their spirits wholly sunk; nature was so completely overcome, that from mere exhaustion they frequently fell asleep during their painful and almost ceaseless exertions. It grieved me to the heart to see them in such a state, at the close of so perilous a service; and I began to reprove Robert Harris, that he did not move down the river to meet us, but, in fact, he was not to blame. I became captious, and found fault where there was no occasion, and lost the equilibrium of my temper, in contemplating the condition of my companions. No murmur, however, escaped them, nor did a complaint reach me that was intended to indicate that they had done all they could do. I frequently heard them in their tent, when they thought I had dropped asleep, complaining of severe pains, and of great exhaustion. 'I must tell the captain to-morrow,' some of them would say, 'that I can pull no more.' To-morrow came, and they pulled on, as if reluctant to yield to circumstances. Macnamee at length lost his senses. We first observed this from his incoherent conversation, but eventually from his manner. He related the most extraordinary tales, and fidgetted about eternally while in the

boat. I felt it necessary, therefore, to relieve him from the oars."—Vol. ii. p. 216.

It was a hard fight with death and madness, but the starving little group pulled on bravely. At length they reached their old camp on Hamilton Plains. There they pitched their tents on the old spot, and sought in their guns a last resource. They were so successful as to kill some swans; their spirits revived a little, and they despatched two of their strongest men to endeavour to reach Pontebadgery, where Robert Harris awaited them with provisions. It was nearly ninety miles direct by land; but the men joyfully undertook the journey. Their last modicum of food was divided with them, and away they went. A week passed at the camp: they at length divided amongst them their last ounce of flour, and were about to set forward in the last desperation of despair, when a loud shout announced the return of the two faithful men, Mulholland and Hopkinson. They had come back with Robert Harris and a supply of provisions. All danger and anxiety were at an end; but the two men were in a terrible condition after their heroic exertions. Their knees and ankles were dreadfully swollen, and their limbs so painful, that as soon as they arrived in the camp, they sank under their efforts; but they met their companions with smiling countenances, and expressed their satisfaction at having arrived so seasonably for their relief. The rest of the journey was a matter of ease and leisure. They were at Yass Plains on the 12th of May; they left them on the 14th, and were in Sydney on the 25th, after an absence of six months, and after the accomplishment of by far the greatest discovery yet made on the Australian continent.

Captain Sturt long continued to feel the effects of the exposure, bodily labour, poverty of diet, and anxiety of mind, to which he had been subjected. After a succession of attacks he became quite blind, and at the time of the publication of the account of his expedition, in 1833, was still unable to read what he wrote, or to ven-

ture abroad without an attendant. At such costs are won those triumphs that open to mankind the unknown lands — the comfortable homes of succeeding generations.

DEATH OF CAPTAIN BARKER IN EXPLORING LAKE ALEXANDRINA.

Captain Sturt on his return to Sydney, strongly recommended a further examination of the coast, from the most eastern point of Encounter Bay, to the head of St. Vincent's Gulf, to ascertain if any other than the known channel, existed amongst the sand hills of the former; or if, as Captain Sturt supposed, might be the case, there existed any other channel from the extensive stretch of water towards the north-west, into St. Vincent's Gulf. Governor Darling at once ordered Captain Collet Barker, of the 39th regiment, who was returning from King George's Sound, to make this examination. A government was now established in Western Australia, and the troops of New South Wales, were ordered to surrender King George's Sound to that government. The schooner Isabella was sent to receive the troops and prisoners on board; and Captain Barker was directed, as soon as he had handed over the settlement to Captain Stirling, to proceed to Cape Jervis, from which point it was thought he could best carry on a survey, not only of that coast, but also of the interior.

This excellent and zealous officer, arrived off Cape Jervis on the 13th of April, 1831, attended by Dr. Davies, assistant surgeon to his regiment, and Mr. King of the commissariat. Captain Barker stood into St. Vincent's Gulf, to latitude 34° 40′, and satisfied himself that no channel existed between that gulf and Lake Alexandrina. On the 17th he landed, accompanied by Mr. Kent, his servant Mills, and two soldiers, and proceeded to Mount Lofty, which they partly ascended, and proceeded through high and very beautiful scenery, and amongst trees of immense size, and having at the same

time, an extensive view of the gulf, and then of Encounter Bay, and of the interior, till they reached the Lake Alexandrina, near the channel which Captain Sturt had discovered, and close to the sand-hillock under which his tent had been pitched. There is another sand-hill to the eastward of the inlet, under which the tide is strong, and the water is deep. Captain Barker, who thought the breadth of the inlet about a quarter of a mile, resolved to swim over, and from this hillock to take bearings, and observe the nature of the strand beyond it to the eastward. As he was the only one of the party who could swim, he went alone, having his compass fastened on his head. He crossed the channel in less than ten minutes, and his companions saw him ascend the sand-hillock; he then descended the farther side, and was never seen by them again. As the soldiers were collecting wood for a fire, they heard a shout, and they told Mr. Kent that they were sure it was the voice of Captain Barker.

The anxiety of the party may be conceived. They had no means of crossing, and waited in most torturing suspense till night-fall, when, instead of Captain Barker reappearing, they saw the hills on the other side lit up with fires at intervals, and heard the natives making wild cries, which satisfied them that they had murdered him. The next morning they put over to Kangaroo Island, and engaged a sealer to accompany Mr. Kent in search of the Captain's remains. This was done, and by the aid of a native woman, who had lived amongst the sealers, and went with them, they ascertained that the natives had murdered the captain, and thrown his body into the sea-tide, by which it had been washed quite away. This unfortunate officer seems to have been a man of the most kind as well as active character, and only too ready to venture his life in the public service, by which it was thus sacrificed. In returning from the lake to the gulf, Mr. Kent discovered a division in the ranges, through which there was a direct and level road across the promontory, from the rocky

point of Encounter Bay to St. Vincent's Gulf, a discovery of great importance in the after settlement of Adelaide. In closing the account of his voyage down the Murray, Captain Sturt recommended that an expedition should be sent down that river to the Darling, with six months' provisions, to go up the Darling, and explore its course, and the country lying around it.

CHAPTER XVI.

SURVEYS OF THE AUSTRALIAN COASTS BY CAPTAINS KING, STOKES, FITZROY, ETC.

Captain King appointed to complete the survey of the coasts left unfinished by the captivity of Captain Flinders. — His instructions and companions.— Sailed from Sydney in December, 1817.—South-westward by Bass's Straits.— Dampier's Archipelago. — Cape Van Diemen. — Saw and named Goulburn Islands, Port Essington, etc.—Great Bay of Van Diemen.—Alligator's River. —Clarence Strait.—Sailed to Timor.—Return to Sydney.—Visited Van Diemen's Land.—Third Voyage up the east coast.—Discovered Rodd's Bay and Port Curtis.—Torres Straits.—Wessell's Islands.—Discovered Liverpool River. Discovered Cambridge Gulf.—Mount Cockburn.—Sailed to Coepang and Sydney.—Fourth voyage, again accompanied by Allan Cunningham.—Again up the east coast, and through Torres Straits.—Resumed their survey at Cassini Island, and continued it to Prince Regent's River.—A fifth and last voyage.— Again through Torres Straits.—In Princess Charlotte's Bay native painting found by A Cunningham. — Explored Prince Regent's River. — Survey coast to Cape La Touch Treville.—To the Mauritius.—Survey of many parts of west coast.—Final return.

As these voyages were undertaken rather for the correction of the observations of former navigators on the bearings and exact positions of the coasts, and at the same time to extend the knowledge of the natural history of the continent, than for geographical discovery, they will not demand any extended notice in this work. They contain a mass of information of the extremest value to seamen and naturalists, and must necessarily be consulted at large in the various works of these voyagers.

In 1817, Captain Philip P. King, of the royal navy, was appointed by the British Government, to continue the examination of the north, north-west, and western shores of Australia, which the seizure and detention of Captain Flinders by the French Governor De Caen, in the Mauritius, was supposed to have left unfinished. In the instructions issued to him by the Admiralty, he was directed to receive into his service Frederick Bedwell and John Septimus Roe, two young gentlemen, likely to be of much assistance to him. To sail to Sydney, and there take a proper vessel, and to proceed to the ex-

amination of the coasts of New South Wales from Arnhem Bay westward, and southward as far as North West Cape, including the bay called Van Diemen's Bay, the cluster of islands called the Rosemary Islands, and the inlets behind, and in his way out, or returning, to examine the coast between Cape Leeuwin and Cape Gosselin, as laid down in M. De Freysinet's chart, and to visit the ranges of coast, which had not been visited or accurately laid down by the French navigators.

Captain King arrived in Sydney on the 3rd of September, 1817, and selected a vessel of 84 tons burthen, recently built in India, called the Mermaid. He sailed from Sydney on the 22nd of December, but on account of the western monsoons, instead of proceeding up the eastern coast, and through Torres Straits, he took the south-western route by Bass's Straits.

On March 4, 1818, he had reached the Rosemary Islands, now included in Dampier's Archipelago, and identified, as De Freysinet had done, Rosemary Island and Malus Island as those particularly visited by their discoverer Dampier. They sailed thence northward, and made some additional discoveries in Rowley's Shoals. They then sailed north-east round Cape Van Diemen, past the New Year's Islands, and commenced their survey of the north coast at Point Braithwaite. A little to the westward of this point they saw and named some islands Goulburn Islands. On some of the coasts hereabout Allan Cunningham, according to his custom, planted seeds of peaches, apricots, loquots, lemons, tobacco, roses, and seventeen sorts of culinary herbs, as well as a cocoa nut. They were now surveying westward, and discovered and surveyed Port Essington. Soon after, they named Popham Bay and Cape Don; and then entered and explored the Great Bay of Van Diemen. Passing by Hope's Islands, they entered Alligators' River, so named from the number of those animals seen. They ascended the river for thirty-six miles, finding it a hundred and fifty yards wide at one place, and from five to eight fathoms deep. Farther on, it decreased in size

and depth. The country round it was flat and low, having patches of wood, amongst which palm trees were conspicuous. They entered a river before arriving at Alligator's River, and were of opinion that several rivers of a like kind fall into this gulf. They next sailed by Field's Islands to the south point of Melville's Island, and thence coasted it all round, passing round Cape Van Diemen and through Apsley Strait, by which they at once proved the insularity of Melville's and Bathurst's Islands. After ascertaining the extent of Bathurst Island, and naming Port and Mount Hurd and Gordon Bay, they returned southward, named the strait betwixt Melville Island and the main Clarence Strait, and some islands in it Vernon's Islands. From these islands, their provisions failing, they sailed to Timor.

From Coepang, in Timor, they set sail for Sydney by Bass's Straits, where they arrived on the 29th of July, 1818. From Sydney, Captain King made a voyage to Van Diemen's Land, to examine Macquarie Harbour. He anchored off Hobart Town on the 2nd of June, 1819, whence he sailed to Macquarie Harbour, where he made some useful observations, named Cape Sorell, on the south side of the harbour, and after again visiting Hobart Town, returned to Sydney.

On the 8th of May, 1819, Captain King set out on a second voyage up the east coast. In this he visited Port Macquarie and the Hastings River with Mr. Oxley; discovered Rodd's Bay, south of Port Curtis; examined Endeavour River; passed through Torres Straits; and sailing across the Gulf of Carpentaria, resumed his examination of the north coast at Wessell's Islands. He discovered Liverpool River, between Entrance Island and Point Hawkesbury; thence he proceeded again to Vernon's Isles in Clarence Strait, and examined the north-western coast to Cambridge Gulf, which he discovered. In this gulf, he discovered some most singularly shaped hills, so perfectly resembling a gigantic fortification, with bastions and ramparts, that it wanted only the display of a standard to render the illusion complete. This extraordi-

nary hill they named Mount Cockburn. Thence he surveyed the coast to Cape Londonderry, and regularly onwards to Cassini Island, whence he again sailed to Coepang, and thence to Sydney by Bass's Straits again.

In a fourth voyage, commenced on the 14th of June, 1820, again accompanied by Allan Cunningham, Captain King took the same route up the east coast and through Torres Straits, landing at various points. They did not resume their coast survey till they again reached Cassini Island, whence they continued it by Montagu and York Sounds, Prince Frederick's Harbour, Hunter's and Roe's Rivers, and as far as Prince Regent's River, where they left the coast in a leaky state. Once more they passed over the assumed place of the Tryal Rocks, and came to the conclusion that Barrows' and Tremouille Islands, with the surrounding reefs, are the real Tryal Rocks.

In a fifth and last of this series of voyages, Captain King, still accompanied by Allan Cunningham, took the same direction by Torres Straits, and round to the western coast. In passing up the east coast, on Clark's Island in Princess Charlotte's Bay, Allan Cunningham went on shore, and discovered some native paintings that surpassed anything of the kind that had yet been seen. On the perpendicular sea cliffs, at from sixteen to twenty feet above the water, the weather had excavated several tiers of galleries in a soft schistus rock, "and upon the roofs and sides of these galleries the natives had executed drawings upon a ground of red ochre, rubbed on the dark schistus, and then had delineated figures by dots of white argillaceous earth, which had been worked up into a paste. They represented tolerable figures of sharks, porpoises, turtles, lizards, trepang, star-fish, clubs, canoes, water gourds, and some quadrupeds, probaby intended to represent kangaroos and dogs. The figures, besides being outlined by the dots, were decorated all over with the same pigment in dotted transverse belts."

The roof and sides of a large cave, which contained fire places of the natives, were also similarly ornamented. "As this," says Captain King, "is the first specimen of

the Australian taste in the fine arts that we have detected in these voyages, it became me to make a particular observation thereon. Captain Flinders had discovered figures on Chasm Island, in the Gulf of Carpentaria, formed with a burnt stick; but this performance, exceeding a hundred and fifty figures, which must have occupied much time, appears at least to be one step nearer refinement than those simply executed with a piece of charred wood."—(Vol. ii. p. 26.)

On reaching the western coast, they examined Prince Regent's River, sailing up it for about fifty miles, and passing two cascades. The river abounded with enormous alligators of from fifteen to twenty feet long, and a curious species of mud fish, that appeared amphibious, sporting and running about on the mud-banks in the lower parts of the river with extraordinary speed, and sinking themselves in the mud in a moment on any alarm. After this, they examined various parts of the coast as far as Cape Latouche Treville, whence they sailed to the Mauritius. On their return, they visited King George's Sound, and then, going northward, recommenced their survey of the coast at Swan River and Rottnest Island; and so still northward, by Cape Leschénault, Houtman's Abrolhos, Shark's Bay, North West Cape, the Montebello Isles, Cape Leveque, and finally Buccaneer's Archipelago, and the great gulf, thence called King's Sound. They then put back to Sydney, where they arrived on the 25th of April, 1822; the whole of these voyages having occupied, with slight intervals, more than four years. Though they afford very little adventure, they added much to an extra knowledge of the Australian coasts, so essential to the safety of those who visit them; and the copious sailing directions given in Captain King's Appendix, extending to no less than ninety-two pages, are a most valuable boon to the maritime world. The notes on the natural history of the country, extending to 229 pages, are scarcely less important.

Still, Mr. W. C. Wentworth, in his "Description of

New South Wales," 1819, says that the survey of the Australian coasts could not even then be regarded as complete, because none of the navigators had discovered the mouth of any great river. Oxley had, indeed, discovered the Murray, to which he had given the name of the Macquarie, and it promised, from its elevation, to issue on the western coast. But the cause why no great debouchment of any river had been observed, lay in what is pointed out in the paper of Mr. Alfred Howitt, at a subsequent part of this work; namely, that every Australian river of every size terminates in a lake, or port which has evidently been a lake, as Port Phillip, Port Jackson, and Lake Alexandrina.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE THREE EXPEDITIONS OF MAJOR, AFTERWARDS SIR THOMAS, MITCHELL FOR THE DISCOVERY OF THE RIVER KINDUR, IN EASTERN AUSTRALIA; FOR ASCERTAINING THE JUNCTION OF THE DARLING WITH THE MURRAY, AND FOR THE EXPLORATION OF THE DISTRICT OF FORT PHILLIP, NOW VICTORIA.

EXPEDITIONS OF MAJOR MITCHELL.—First expedition in quest of the Kindur.—Squatters fast spreading over the whole of the newly-discovered regions.—A new and greater Arcadia.—Fame of a great river, north of the Dumaresque, called the Kindur, spread by a convict, George Clarke.—Major Mitchell sent in quest of it.—Passes the Hunter.—The persons of his party.—Canvas boats. George Clarke, the barber, amongst the blacks again.—Wingen, the burning hill.—The Peel River.—The Acacia Pendula, a new tree.—The Nammoy River.—The Pic of Tangulda.—Canvas boats found useless on the Nammoy.—Following the Gwydir.—The village of bowers.—Intense heat.—Singular interview with Natives.—The River Karaula.—Build a boat, which proved of little use. The River Barwan.—Ferocious wasps.—Watched by the natives.—Murder of Mr. Finch's men, and seizure of the stores by the blacks.—The party commences its return.—Funeral song of a native woman.—Followed by hostile natives.—Scene of the massacre. Re-cross the Nammoy. The journey to Sydney.

FIRST EXPEDITION IN QUEST OF THE KINDUR.

THE discoveries of Oxley and Sturt on the Peel and Hastings rivers eastward, and of the general courses of the Lachlan, the Macquarie, the Murrumbidgee, and the Murray, had opened up a vast country, and produced a correspondent sensation in New South Wales, and, to a certain degree, in England. True, the major portion of that country, through which the chief of these rivers ran, was very unpromising, but this only stimulated the desire to ascertain whether better were not beyond. The discovery of the real course of the Murray, into which most of them fell, had dissipated the prevalent notion that the great outlet of Australian waters was to the north-west, and directed attention more fixedly towards those regions where the land was richer and more inviting. To the eastward, on the Peel, the Hastings, the Gwydir, and Dumaresque, parts of which had been seen by Allan

Cunningham, and in the south-west on the Murrumbidgee, rich and beautiful country lay, and already eager squatters were spreading their flocks and herds over it, and were still insatiable for fresh and boundless pastures. It was a new Arcadian world opened up, and was arrayed in more charms to the men of wool, mutton and beef, than ever was the ancient Arcadia by the highest art of the old poets. The Theocritus of gain piped sweetest strains of yet dimly-discerned woods and wilds, and many a solitary hut rose in the fervent imaginations of bucolic minds beneath wattles and gigantic blue-gums on the banks of clear streams, haunted yet only by the blackfellow, the tortoise, and the platypus.

To hasten these Saturnian times, the Surveyor-General of New South Wales, Major T. L. Mitchell, who had fought under Wellington in the Peninsula, and had the courage and experience of a soldier and the science of a civilian, was selected. He had been usefully employed in making a more easy way through the Blue Mountains, and in surveying and tracking out squatting stations in what might be called the home counties; but he was called off in 1831, to proceed north-east, and explore the vicinage of the Peel. It was but two years since the labours of Sturt and Hume had connected the Darling, the Barwan, the Morriset Ponds, and the Castlereagh, and wonderful stories had been since brought in by a runaway convict, named George Clarke, alias the Barber, who had lived for some years amongst the natives of the north-east. Clarke had adopted all the habits of black fellows, had coloured himself to resemble them, sported a couple of gins, or native wives, and, aided by other escaped convicts, had led the blacks to the plunder of the cattle of squatters on Liverpool Plains on an extensive scale. Some of the natives were at length induced by bribes to betray him to the authorities of Sydney, and when brought in—no doubt to propitiate the government—he talked much of a great river, which he said the natives called the Kindur, and which ran in a south-west direction to the sea. In many particulars his story was

correct, for there was a great river—the Barwan—in its lower course becoming the Darling; and this and many other rivers falling into a still greater, which eventually ran to the sea. The Nammoy, he asserted, was the continuation of the Peel river, and he was the first to name the Nammoy, both of which circumstances proved correct, though quite contrary to the then received opinions of the colony. But beyond this Clarke drew greatly on his imagination, and professed to have reached the Western Sea himself, and talked much of a burning mountain—Courada, and of many tribes headed by their kings, through which he had passed.

The "Wahrheit and Dichtung," the embellished truth of this bold ranger amongst the natives, produced its beneficial consequences, for it roused the Sydney Government to explore these regions; Major Mitchell offered his services for the expedition, and they were accepted. It was natural to suppose that the Murray now being discovered, and the chain of mountains running from the Blue Mountains northward, parallel to the eastern coast, the great flow of waters would be found to be from that eastern chain towards the south-west, the rivers flowing towards the east coast having so much less a breadth of country to traverse. The Gwydir and Dumaresque were both supposed to run to the east coast, but subsequent research showed that they ran in the opposite direction, both the Dumaresque and the Gwydir, or Meir of the natives, westward, and falling into the Barwan.

Major Mitchell set out from Sydney on the 24th of November, 1831, his drays and men having gone on some time before towards the river Hunter. Three hundred miles had to be traversed before the expedition would pass the line to which the squatter population had already extended itself in that direction. Accompanied by one friend or other residing on the way, Mr. James Macarthur, at Paramatta, Mr. Simpson, on the Hawkesbury, Messrs. White and Blaxland, on the Wollombi, he reached the Hunter, and overtook his party,

With the exception of a soldier or two, the whole of these were convicts, fifteen in number, and as we are to travel a good while with them, it is as well to take the Major's own account of them, for certainly, in such perilous services, the names of the men deserve record as well as that of the leader :—

"Burnett was the son of a respectable house-carpenter on the banks of the Tweed, where he had been too fond of shooting game, his only cause of 'trouble.'

"Whiting, a Londoner, had been a soldier in the guards.

"Woods had been found useful in the department as a surveyor's man, in which capacity he first came under my notice, after he had been long employed as a boatman in the survey of the coast. I never had occasion to change my good opinion of him.

"John Palmer was a sail-maker, as well as sailor, and both he and Jones had been on board of a man-of-war, and were very handy fellows.

"Worthington was a strong youth, recently arrived from Nottingham. He was nick-named by his comrades 'Five o'Clock,' from his having on the outset of the journey disturbed them by insisting that the hour was five o'clock soon after midnight, from his eagerness to be ready in time in the morning.

"I never saw Souter's diploma, but his experience and skill in surgery were sufficient to satisfy us, and acquire for him from the men the appellation of 'Doctor.'

"Robert Muirhead had been a soldier in India, and banished for some mutiny to New South Wales, where his steady conduct had obtained for him an excellent character.

"Delany and Foreham were experienced men in driving cattle.

"Joseph Jones, originally a London grocer, I had always found intelligent and trustworthy.

"Bombelli could shoe horses, and was afterwards transferred to my service by Mr. Sempill, in lieu of a

very turbulent character whom I left behind, and who declared it his firm determination to be hanged.

"Cussack had been a bog-surveyor in Ireland; he was an honest creature; but had got somehow implicated in a charge of administering unlawful oaths.

"Brown had been a soldier, and subsequently was assistant coachman to the Marquis of ———, and

"Dawkins was an old tar, in whom Mr. White, himself formerly an officer in the Indian navy, placed much confidence.

"Thus," says Major Mitchell, "it had been my study in organizing this party, to combine proved men of both services with some neat-handed mechanics, as engineers, and it now formed a respectable body of men, for the purpose for which it was required."

Besides these, he had two gentlemen, assistant surveyors, to accompany him, Mr. White and Mr. Finch. He adds that of arms they had eight muskets, six pistols, and a box of sky-rockets, with a requisite quantity of ammunition. This is also his account of their horses, carriages, and provisions:—"Of tilted carts we had two, so constructed that they could be drawn either by one or two horses. They were also so light that they could be moved across difficult passes by the men alone. Three stronger carts or drays were loaded with our stock of provisions, consisting of flour, pork, which had been boned, in order to diminish the bulk as much as possible; tea, tobacco, sugar, and soap. We had, besides, a number of pack-saddles for the draught animals, that, in case of necessity, we might be able to carry forward the loads by such means. Several pack-horses were also attached to the party. I had been induced to prefer wheel-carriages for an exploring journey, first, from the level nature of the interior country; secondly, from the greater facility and certainty they afforded of starting early, and as the necessity for laying all our stores in separate loads on animals' backs could be thus avoided. The latter method being further exposed to interruptions on the way by the derangement

of loads, or galling the animals' backs, one inexperienced man being thus likely to impede the progress of the whole party. For the navigation of rivers two portable boats of canvas had been prepared by Mr. Eager, of the King's dockyards at Sydney. We carried the canvas only with models of the ribs, and tools, having carpenters who could complete them as occasion required."

Thus we have a full view of them as they advanced on their journey. Near the Liverpool ranges they were overtaken by Mr. White, and fresh supplies. As they proceeded they noted what changes a few years had brought. The natives had nearly disappeared from the valley of the Hunter, and those who remained lingered about the Squatting stations for the offal of cattle, and other like dainties which they obtained. There were instead of the wild children of the desert, substantial homes, flocks and herds of the white man. At one of these they learned that George Clarke, the Barber, had escaped from his chains, and was with the blacks again, and they were warned to be on their guard against his wild comrades, whom he might excite to mischief. At Wingen they saw the "Burning Hill," which is not a volcano, but merely a mount of bituminous shale on fire. At Loder's Station they procured a native named Jemmy as a guide, as far as Wallamoul on the Peel river. On arriving there they engaged another black, at the last station, occupied by a Mr. Brown, and whose name this guide had taken. Here they entered on the yet unexplored region, crossing the Peel very near where Mr. Oxley had one of his camps.

They here began to see the acacia pendula, a tree resembling a weeping willow, and possessing a rich dark wood of a scent resembling raspberries, and called myal wood by the natives, a tree which delights in low moist lands, and of which they were destined to see immense expanses. They had come also into the region of the callitris, or Australian pine. They saw the Peel stretching away westward, tracing it by its lines of large blue gum trees. In this neighbourhood they

passed a large stock-yard, which the natives said had been George the Barber's; it still remains on the map. Hilly ranges and fine open woodland, alternated with open grassy plains, as they proceeded. On the 16th of December, they reached the Nammoy, which was again the Peel, after having received the Conadilly, and there it was a hundred feet across, and nearly twelve deep. They were now, in fact, ranging the northern boundaries of the Liverpool Plains. Having in vain attempted a course northwards, past a rocky hill, which they called the Pic of Tangulda, and passing a small river which they named the Maule, they returned to the Nammoy, and leaving the cattle and drays under a guard at a camp; they embarked on the Nammoy in their canvas boats, very soon to discover their total unfitness for sailing on Australian rivers. They were quickly stove in by snags, and they were glad to send back for the cattle and drays.

Following the course of the river in a north-westerly direction, they passed the western extremity of the Nundawar Range on their right; and traversed a fine country of grassy plains, with occasional woody hills. Diverging, however, soon from the course of the Nammoy, they held north over great plains, in which the earth was sometimes from thirty to forty feet deep; but where they suffered much from heat and want of water. Vast scrubs of casuarina, or shiac, called by the settlers she-oak, frequently impeded their progress, but on the 9th of January, 1832, they reached the river Gwydir of Cunningham.

They now determined to follow down the Gwydir to its junction, and after Major Mitchell had explored the way to some distance on horseback, they set out on the 17th of January. Mr. Finch, who was far behind, bringing up fresh additions to their stores, was left to find his way by the tracks of their wheels. They had been occasionally visited by small parties of natives, who, however, seemed quiet, and they saw an encampment of one, which had more of the picturesque about it than

native camps generally have. "The huts of the natives were tastefully distributed amongst drooping acacias and casuarinas; some resembled bowers under yellow, fragrant mimosas; some were isolated under the deeper shades of casuarinas; while others were placed more socially; three or four together, fronting to one and the same hearth. Each hut was semicircular or circular, the roof conical, and from one side a flat roof stood forward like a portico, supported by two sticks. Most of them were close to the trunk of a tree, and they were covered not as in other parts, by sheets of bark, but by a variety of materials, as reeds, grass, and boughs. The interior of each looked clean, and to us in passing in the rain, gave some idea, not only of shelter, but even of comfort and happiness. They afforded a very favourable specimen of the taste of the gins, whose business it usually is to construct the huts. This village of bowers also occupied more space than the encampments of natives in general: choice shady spots seemed to have been an object, and to have been selected with care."

Their way led in a westerly direction over great plains, sometimes open forest, sometimes casuarina scrub, and sometimes grassy and evidently occasionally flooded savannas. The river lay deep between perpendicular banks of nearly 30 feet in height, the breadth from bank to bank averaging 70 yards. They came occasionally also on lagoons, but the weather was growing intensely hot, and their dray wheels shrinking, began to fall to pieces, and had to be tightened. About the ponds they saw the beautiful crested pigeon mentioned by Oxley. They soon began to see the Nundawar Range south-east of them. On the margin of one of the lagoons they found a tree with foliage resembling the white Australian cedar, but bearing a fruit resembling a small russet apple; the skin rough, the pulp a rich crimson, and covering a large stone, the taste of an agreeable acid flavour. Most of the country was fine, beautifully wooded, the soil rich, and it was altogether desirable for pasturage.

Encamping by a pond they discovered a camp of

natives by an amusing incident. "I perceived the fires of the natives at no great distance from our camp, and Dawkins went forward, taking with him a tomahawk and a small loaf. He soon came upon a tribe of about thirty men, women, and children, seated by the ponds, with half a kangaroo and some cray-fish cooked before them, and also a large vessel of bark containing water. Now Dawkins must have been in appearance, so different to all the ideas these poor people had of their fellow-men, that on the sight of such an apparition, it was not surprising that, after a moment's stare, they precipitately took to the pond, floundering through it, some up to the neck, to the opposite bank. He was a tall, spare figure, in a close white dress, surmounted by a broad-brimmed straw hat, the *tout ensemble* somewhat resembling a mushroom; and these dwellers by the waters might well have believed, from his silent and unceremonious intrusion, that he had risen from the earth in the same manner. The curiosity of the natives, who had vanished as fast as they could, at length overcame their terrors, so far as to induce them to peep from behind the trees at their mysterious visitor. Dawkins, not in the least disconcerted, made himself at home at the fires, and on seeing them on the other side, began his usual speech :— 'What for you jerran budgery whitefellow?' etc. ('Why are you afraid of a good white man?') He next drew forth his little loaf, endeavouring to explain its use and meaning by eating it, and he then began to chop a tree by way of showing off a tomahawk; but the possession of a peculiar food of his own astounded them still more. His final experiment was attended by no better effect, for when he sat down by their fire, by way of being friendly, and began to taste their kangaroo, they set up a shout which induced him to make his exit with the same silent celerity, which no doubt had rendered his debût outrageously opposed to their ideas of etiquette, which imperatively requires that loud cooées should announce any approach within the distance of a mile."

As the dense growth of trees along the river compelled

them to keep their course at some distance, they were often hard pushed for water, and they, therefore, hastened forward north-west, and came upon another deep and rapid river. This river proved to be the Karaula, which runs for a long way from the east, then parallel with the Barwan for fifty or sixty miles, where it falls into it. The waters were deep and turbid, and the banks of steep clay twenty feet higher than the stream. They determined to build a boat of the callitris pine, and sail down it, but a little examination of the stream put an end to this scheme, by showing them abundance of fallen trees and rocky rapids obstructing it. They, however, built their boat to cross the river in, and making a camp there, the Major went on with a reconnoitering party to trace the course of the new river. At the distance of seventeen miles from their camp, they were attacked by a species of large wasp or hornet, which had hung its nest from the bough of a tree, and inflicted stings on them of the severest kind, and left blue, circular spots, as large as sixpences for several months afterwards. They had not travelled much farther, when they came upon the Gwydir again, falling into a large river, which they at once recognized as the Darling, or rather in that latitude, the Barwan. "Thus," says Mitchell, "I now overlooked, from a bank of seventy feet high, a river as broad as the Thames at Putney, on which the goodly waves, perfectly free from fallen timber, danced in full liberty . . . Thus terminated our excursion to explore this last discovered stream. Into this river we had traced the Gwydir; the junction of the Nammoy also could not be far distant; and even that of the Castlereagh was only about 70 miles to the south-west."

The Major, therefore, returned to his party, intending to cross the Karaula, and proceed still further north in exploration of the country; but at the camp they were met with news which completely changed their intentions. They found that a party of natives had been at the camp, who were much inclined to steal, and who betrayed

by various circumstances that they had been all along watching the expedition, since it entered this district, from the concealment of the woods. It was evident that they must be on their guard, and this was speedily confirmed by tragical intelligence.

Mr. Finch, who had been bringing up further supplies, arrived, announcing that:—"Two of his men had been killed, and all the supplies, cattle, and equipments, had fallen into the hands of the natives. This catastrophe occurred at the Ponds of Gorolei, beyond Mount Frazer, which Mr. Finch had reached after having been distressed, even more than our party had been at the same place, for want of water. This privation had first occasioned the loss of his horse and several other animals, so that his party had been able to convey the supplies to the ponds, by carrying forward from the dry camp, only a portion at a time on the remaining bullocks. Mr. Finch at length succeeded in thus lodging all the stores at these ponds, but being unable to remove them farther without the assistance of my cattle, he left them there, and proceeded forward on foot along our track with one man, in expectation of falling in with my party, at no great distance in advance. After ascertaining that we were not so near as he hoped, and having reached the Gwydir, and traced our route along its banks, until he again recognised Mount Frazer, he returned at the end of the second day, when he found neither his tents nor his men to receive him, but a heap of various articles, such as bags, trunks, harness, tea and sugar canisters, &c., piled over the dead bodies of his men, whose legs he at length perceived projecting. The tents had been cut in pieces; tobacco and other articles lay about, and most of the flour had been carried off, although some bags still remained in the cart. The two bullocks continued feeding near. This spectacle must have been most appalling to Mr. Finch, uncertain, as he must have been, whether the eyes of the natives were not then upon him, while neither he nor his man possessed any means of defence. Taking a piece of pork and some

flour in a haversack, he hastened from the dismal scene, and, by travelling all day, and passing the nights without fire, he most providentially escaped the natives, and had, at length, reached our camp. Thus terminated my hopes of exploring the country beyond the Karaula, and I could not but feel thankful for the providential circumstance of Mr. Finch's arrival, at the very moment when I was about to proceed on that undertaking, trusting that I should find, on returning to this depôt, the supplies which I expected him to bring. We had now, on the contrary, an additional demand on our much exhausted stock of provisions. The season when the rain might be expected was approaching, and we had behind us 200 miles of country subject to inundation, without a hill to which we could, in such a case, repair. The soil was likely to become impassable after two days' rain, and our cart wheels were represented by the carpenters to be almost unserviceable. These considerations, and the hostile disposition of the natives in our rear, not only deterred me from crossing the Karaula, but seemed to require my particular attention homewards."

Sorrowfully they commenced their return. They had only just crossed the Gwydir, when they were pursued by the natives in strong force, who stood on the empty carts, which they had not yet been able to bring over, in scores, like so many sparrows, shouting and gesticulating. They were painted as usual when making warlike demonstrations, and were only deterred by firing a pistol. As they proceeded over the plains from pond to pond, they, on one occasion, heard a female singing in a much more melodious manner than usual, and learned that she was mourning for the dead, a circumstance that reminded our travellers of this custom in all ancient nations by professional singers amongst the Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, Asiatics. Thus, in Homer:—

> "A melancholy choir attend around,
> With plaintive sighs, and music's solemn sound:
> Alternately they sing, alternate flow,
> The obedient tears, melodious in their woe."

And again in Jeremiah, "Call for the mourning women that they may come, and let them make haste, and take up a wailing for us, that our eyes may run down with tears, and our eyelids gush out with waters."

As they proceeded they saw fires kindled, and strong bodies of natives again and again come into view. On arriving at the camp of Mr. Finch, they found a single cart and the two dead bodies of their companions now in a high state of decomposition. The bullocks were no longer there; the natives had re-visited the camp, and carried away the remainder of the flour and the canvas of the tent. The bodies lay under a heap of saddles, yokes, harness, pack-saddles, trunks, canisters, &c. The savages appeared to have been ignorant of sugar, tea, and tobacco, articles which the natives nearer the colony preferred to all things. The tea was scattered about; the tobacco lay in heaps around, destroyed by the late rains. A spade, a steelyard, and a hammer, were left, although iron had been so much in request that they had drawn one of the iron pins of the cart. Mr. Finch's trunk, containing his clothes and papers, fortunately remained thrown on the heap unopened, and uninjured. Having buried the bodies, conscious that they were watched by the natives, smoke arising from various parts around, they continued their route. The rains having set in, the plains thence to the Nammoy were deep in mud, and made it difficult to advance, but on the 26th of February they reached that river, and crossed it on the 28th. The remaining way to Sydney was through a pretty well-settled country. Major Mitchell concludes this narrative with these observations:—"This journey of discovery proved that any large river flowing to the north-west must be far to the northward of latitude 29°. All the rivers south of that parallel, and which had been described by the Barber as falling into such a river as the Kindur, have been ascertained to belong wholly to the basin of the Darling.

"The country we traversed was very eligible in many parts for the formation of grazing establishments, as a

proof of which, it may be mentioned, that flocks of sheep soon covered the plains of Mùlluba, and that the country around the Barber's stockyard has ever since the return of the expedition been occupied by the cattle of Sir John Jamieson. "At a still greater distance from the settled districts, much valuable land will be found around the base of the Nundawàr Range. The region beyond these mountains, or between them and the Gwydir, is beautiful; and in the vicinity, or within sight of the high land, it is sufficiently well watered to become an important addition to the pastoral capabilities of New South Wales."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SECOND EXPEDITION OF MAJOR MITCHELL, BEING TO THE DARLING, IN 1835.

Mr. Dixon sent to ascertain the junction of the Darling and the Murray, by following down the Darling.—Reached the river Bogan, and returned.—In 1835 Major Mitchell, with a strong party, sent to complete this task.—Took two whale boats to navigate the Darling.—His party.—Came on Dixon's track on the Bogan.—Native guides supplied abundance of wild honey.—Their mode of tracking the bees.—The younger Mr. Cunningham lost in the bush, and murdered by the blacks.—Consternation and delay of the party.—Advance sorrowfully.—Reach the Darling, now sweet.—Vestiges of poor Cunningham found.—Fort Bourke.—Diseased natives.—Boats found useless.—Sturt and Hume's furthest point.—Hume's marked tree.—Dunlop's Range.—The spitting tribe.—Native cemetery.—Skirmish with the natives.—Turn back.—Still 400 miles from the Murray.—Major Mitchell's general observations on the Darling and its productions.—Rapid advance of squatters into the new country.

Captain Sturt had seen what he felt confident was the junction of the river Darling with the Murray, but as there remained a portion of its lower course yet unexplored, room was left for a doubt whether this was the Darling after all. There were persons who entertained such doubts, and amongst them was Major Mitchell himself. "I began to entertain doubts on that subject. It seemed probable, from the divergent courses of the Macquarie and Lachlan, that these rivers might belong to separate basins, and that the dividing ridge might be 'the very elevated range' which Mr. Oxley had seen extending westward between them. It was obvious that this range, if continuous, must separate the basin of the river Darling from that of the river Murray."

To determine this point, Mr. Dixon was sent as a preliminary measure in October, 1833, to trace the ranges between the rivers Lachlan and Macquarie, by proceeding westward from the Wellington Valley. Mr. Dixon descended that valley, and followed the Macquarie to where it crossed the northern extremity of Hervey's

Range; thence he crossed to the river Bogan, and followed it down 67 miles to a little beyond the 32° of south latitude, and to the commencement of the ranges seen by Mr. Oxley afar off, stretching north-west of him, where he was compelled to turn back.

A more effective party was therefore fitted out in March, 1835, under Major Mitchell, to prosecute, if possible, the course of the Darling, from the point at which Sturt had abandoned it to where he saw it issuing into the Murray, in 1830. For this expedition, careful preparations were made for some time previous. Wood was cut, and laid up to season in the dockyard at Sydney, for the felloes of the dray wheels, this being a matter of utmost moment in a country subject to such extremities of heat and wet. Two light whale boats were also built, which were suspended on belts of canvas in a long light waggon, constructed for the purpose, and which turned out to answer admirably. This carriage was built on a plan furnished by Mr. Dunlop, the Royal astronomer at Paramatta; and the parts of the canvas belts most liable to friction were guarded by sheepskin and greased hide. The smaller boat was suspended within the larger; and the whole was covered with tarpauling, thrown over a ridge pole.

Besides himself and two other gentlemen, there were twenty-one men of the party. Of these, nine were such as had behaved so admirably on his going to the Karaula, and they are distinguished on the list by italics. They were not only tried in conduct, but seasoned to bush life, a great point in all such expeditions:—

Alexander Burnett	Overseer.
Robert Whiting	Carpenter.
William Woods	
John Palmer	Sailors.
Thomas Jones	
John Souter	Medical Attendant.

Robert Muirhead	Bullock Drivers.
Charles Hammond	
John Baldwin	
Joseph Herbert	
William Thomas	
Thomas Murray	
Edward Gayton	
Charles King	
William Baldock	Groom.
Joseph Jones	Shepherd.
John Johnston	Blacksmith.
John Bulger	Shoemaker.
Anthony Brown	Servant to Major M.
George Squires	„ Mr. Cunningham.
Thomas Reeves	„ Mr. Larmer.

Souter, the medical attendant, like the rest, was a convict, and not too close an inquiry was made into his medical credentials; but the Major says that his skill was always found adequate to the work. Mr. Richard Cunningham, the botanist, was a younger brother of the respected Allan Cunningham; and Mr. Larmer was a very young assistant surveyor.

Such was the staff, by no means too large to struggle with the difficulties of the country of the Darling, and not less with the numerous and daring tribes of natives on that river. Besides the boat carriage, there were provided seven carts, and as many pack-horses, carrying provisions for five months. Two mountain barometers were borne by two men, the only service required of them while travelling. The whole party in motion towards the unknown interior, and prepared for sea or land, observes the Major, was a most gratifying sight. He himself did not follow them for three weeks. On the 6th of April he had arrived at Mount Canobolos, which he ascended with Mr. Cunningham, to make such observations as should form a starting point for the great journey westward. On the 11th, he ascended Mount Jason; and on the 12th, the most southern extremity

of Hervey's Range, for the same purpose, and this hill he named Mount Laidley. Not far from the Canobolos, Major Mitchell struck across from Macquarie in a south-west direction, to fall into Dixon's track on the Bogan; and on April the 15th, he found himself in latitude 32° 45′ S.

"Here," he says, "we were in a land flowing with milk and honey; for our friendly guides, with their new tomahawks, extracted it in abundance from the hollow branches of the trees, and it seemed that, in the proper season, they could find it almost everywhere. To such inexpert clowns, as they probably thought us, the honey and the bees were inaccessible, and indeed invisible, save only when the natives cut the former out, and brought it to us in little sheets of bark, thus displaying a degree of ingenuity and skill in supplying wants, which we, with all our science, could not hope to attain. Their plan was to catch a bee, and attach to it, with some resin or gum, the light down of a swan or owl: thus laden, the bee would make for its nest in the branch of some lofty tree, and so betray its store of sweets to its keen-eyed pursuers, whose bee-chase presented, indeed, a laughable scene."

On the 17th, encamping near the Bogan about sunset, the Major was informed that Mr. Cunningham was missing. He had left the camp to join the Major, who was hunting for water, but had evidently missed him. He was young and adventurous, and new to the bush, and the Major had frequently warned him of the danger of losing sight of the party in such a country. The night went on, and he did not appear, though, according to custom on such occasions, they continued to fire shots to call his attention to their place. Eleven o'clock the next day arrived, amid the deepest anxiety and the continual firing of shots, but no Mr. Cunningham. The want of water then compelled them to push on eight miles to the Bogan, continually hoping that he would fall in with their track; but night again approached without his appearance. Parties were now sent out in different direc-

tions, the Major heading one, to search for him. The last time that he had been seen was about twelve miles back, and they could not account for his not perceiving their track, which was broad and plain, deeply marked by the wheels of the drays, and the trees along it being blazed also. They had made a sharp turn to the Bogan, it was true; but still, they had confidently hoped that he would strike the track, and follow it down. It is to be regretted that the search was not instituted earlier, and that in addition to the firing of shots, rockets had not been sent up, as likely to be seen farther than fires; or than shots could be heard.

From the 19th to the 23rd of April, this anxious and incessant search was maintained in all directions, without discovering a trace of the missing young man. On that day, two of the men came upon his trace, near where they had first lost him, but soon lost it again. They were sent, early on the 24th, to make a fresh search in that quarter, but without success.

On the 25th, Mr. Larmer and three men were sent out to search the scrub well around that neighbourhood, and on the evening of the 28th they returned, bringing his saddle and bridle, his whip, one glove, two straps, and a piece of paper folded like a letter, inside of which were cut, as with a penknife, the letters "N. E." Mr. Larmer reported that, having easily found the track of the horse, beyond the scrub, they had followed it until they came to where the horse lay dead, having still the saddle on, and the bridle in his mouth. The whip and straps had been previously found, and from these circumstances, the tortuous track of the horse, and the absence of Mr. Cunningham's own footsteps for some way from where the horse was found, it was considered that he had either left the animal in despair, or that it had got away from him. At all events, it had evidently died from want of water; but the fate of its unfortunate rider was still a mystery.

"It appeared," says Major Mitchell, "from Mr. Larmer's map of Mr. Cunningham's track, that he had devi-

ated from our line after crossing Bullock Creek, and had proceeded about fourteen miles to the north-west, where marks of his having tied up his horse, and lain down, induced the party to believe that he had there passed the first dreary night of his wandering. From that point he appeared to have intended to return, and by the zig-zag course he took, that he had either been travelling in the dark, or looking for his own track, that he might retrace it. In this manner his steps actually approached within about a mile of our route, but in such a manner, that he appeared to have been going south, while we were going north on the 18th. Thus he had continued to travel southward, or south-south-west, full fourteen miles, crossing his own track not far from where he first quitted our route. On his left hand he had the dry channel of Bullock's Creek, with the water-gum-trees, with their white, shining trunks, which I had pointed out to him as indicating water, full in view, though without ever looking into it for water. Had he observed this channel and followed it downwards, he must have found our route; and had he traced it upwards, he must have come upon the water-holes, where I had an interview with the two natives, and thus, perhaps, have fallen in with me. From the marks of his horse having been tied to four different trees, at the extreme southern point which he reached, it appeared that he had halted there some time, or passed there the second night. That point was not more than half a mile to the westward of my track on the 21st. From it he had returned, keeping still more to the westward, so that he actually fell in with my track of the 19th, and appeared to have followed it backwards for upwards of a mile, when he struck off at a right angle to the north-west. It was impossible to account for this fatal deviation," &c.

But why pursue the sad story? The poor youth, new to the wilds, had, in the expressive phrase of the colonists, got bushed,—that is, utterly bewildered, and thus lost all idea of the direction that he ought to pursue. I have seen striking instances of this, and of the

extreme difficulty of attracting the attention of a thus bewildered person, even after the most immediate quest after him in the vast, monotonous woods. I have myself, in some degree, experienced the confounding sensation of having lost your guiding points. The anxious quest was kept up from the 19th of April to the 6th of May—eighteen days, without result. They came on footsteps of the unhappy youth, but soon lost them again. They found he had once reached the Bogan, and they supposed he had killed and eaten his dog in the extremity of his hunger, as no trace of him was found. They fell in with various natives, and endeavoured to make them understand that a white man was lost, and to incite them to hunt for him, but with little success. One native they found with a silk pocket handkerchief fastened over his shoulders, but he appeared so careless of their examination of it, and it was already so filthy, that they doubted whether it was Mr. Cunningham's. Yet there is little doubt but that it was his, for it eventually came out that he had taken refuge at their huts, and made signs that he was very hungry, when they took him in and gave him food, but knocked out his brains in the night. This the party learned on their return.

So shocking a catastrophe cast a gloom on their journey almost at its outset, and they went forward with saddened hearts. The natives showed their hostility by firing the bush, and they suffered much from want of water whenever they quitted the line of the Bogan; even when on the river, for many miles together there was not a drop of water in it. On the route, some of the men found fresh vestiges of poor Cunningham—the skirt of his coat, numerous fragments of his map of the colony, and in a hollow tree, some yellow printed paper, in which he used to wrap the map. Just as these discoveries were made, the natives, on the sight of the discovered fragments, betrayed their guilt by decamping in the night in evident alarm, the man with the silk handkerchief amongst the rest. They soon, however, came

amongst other natives, some of whom consented to guide them, and they proceeded over the dreary plains that we have so often had occasion to describe, towards the Darling. On the 17th of May they reached some heights where, from the marks of axes on the callitris pines, and of fire, they knew that they were on the hill where Captain Sturt had made a huge blaze, to attract the eyes of one of his men, missing. They went on to within twenty miles of Oxley's Table Land, and Mr. Larmer rode thither to see if there were water in the swamps there still, but found them quite dry. They therefore continued their route over very rotten plains, till they reached the Darling on the 25th of May, and were rejoiced to find the water sweet, though in nearly the same latitude in which Captain Sturt had found it undrinkably salt. It lay deep within earthy banks, sluggish in its course, and bordered by lofty gum trees. They calculated that its bed could not be more than 250 feet above the level of the sea.

At this point, very near latitude 30°, and longitude 146°, they erected a stockade, made a camp, and named it Fort Bourke. The situation was highly favourable. The ground there was elevated, looking far over the country. Around was open and grassy forest, and the grass in the immediate environs of the camp was exuberant. A bend of the river defended three parts of their camp, and the stockade of rough logs secured the rest. A few men with arms could maintain themselves there against a numerous tribe of natives. They had the satisfaction of having now traced what Captain Sturt, seeing only a portion of it, had named New-Year's Creek, on the river Bogan down to the Darling. They were soon visited by natives, who were much afflicted by ophthalmia and other diseases, as the small-pox. The women were hideous, and rendered more so by being daubed with red ochre. The men had all lost a front tooth. They had evidently seen Sturt's party, for they pointed to the sun, and made them understand that it had performed six annual revolutions since they saw white men before.

On the 30th of May they launched their two boats, thinking they should be able to descend the Darling in them; but they were soon stopped by rocks, and compelled to abandon the idea. To ascertain the prospect of a route by land, Major Mitchell rode on with four men as far as Durban's Group, the farthest point to which Sturt and Hume had reached in 1829. On his way, a broad, dry water-course he found covered with a plant resembling trefoil or clover, with a yellow flower, and a perfume like woodrooffe. Is this the Nardoo of the natives of Cooper's Creek? From Mount Helvellyn, the highest point of Durban's group, which did not appear altogether more than two or three miles in length, they had a most satisfactory view of the surrounding country. To the south-east, approaching the Darling, rose Dunlop's Range; the course of the Darling was clearly marked by its dark line of trees: to the westward all was one vast flat: between them and the Bogan appeared a few detached hills, of which Oxley's Table Land was the most conspicuous.

On the 8th of June they broke up their camp, and resumed their journey down the Darling. On the 10th they discovered the tree on which Mr. Hume had cut his name, when Captain Sturt had turned from the Darling in 1829; and the initials H. H. were still conspicuous. On the 13th they reached Dunlop's Range, and ascended it, having a similar view to that from Durban's Group. From this point the natives began to be very troublesome, making continual attempts at thieving, and when prevented, assuming a hostile attitude. On the 27th of June they fell in with a tribe of rude savages, whom they called the Spitting Tribe. These savages waved boughs violently over their heads, spat at the travellers, and threw dust up with their toes. As they endeavoured even to pluck Major Mitchell's pistols from his belt, he fired one to intimidate them, when they immediately threw themselves in a circle, shouting, crouching, jumping, spitting, throwing up dust, and singing their war-song with the most hideous gestures. Their

faces seemed all eyes and teeth; and in this frantic manner, dancing and jumping in a circle, they slowly retired along the river bank. The next day they appeared again, and while one, who seemed a coradge, or priest, went through a strange ceremony of singing and touching his eye-brows, nose, and breast, crossing himself, and pointing to the sky like an old Druid, the rest were endeavouring to steal the tools and iron of the blacksmith who was at work near.

On the 1st of July they came on a grave-yard, where lay various casts of heads of gypsum or lime of some kind, and a number of oblong balls, tapering towards each end, of the same material, laid on the graves. The casts had the marks of hair on them, and of nets in which the hair had been confined. These balls and casts were evidently laid over the graves of natives by their friends to identify them, as the eastern natives lay stones, and as the Jews whiten their graves with lime, whence our Saviour's simile of "a whited sepulchre," being thus distinguished that priests and others in travelling might observe them, and so not walk over, or lie down upon them, and thus be polluted. The Major noticed many customs of the natives as being of an eastern origin. In one place they found the grass all pulled up over a considerable space, and piled in heaps like hay-cocks, which much puzzled them, as the natives had no sheep or cattle for which they could have made this provision. They supposed that they might be intended to attract the kangaroos wherever the grass was all burnt off the rest of the plains, but they could not clear up the mystery.

Sometimes on the river, which improved in quantity of water and scenery on its banks, sometimes finding a lake to refresh at, and sometimes ploughing their way through plains of loose, ruddy sand, always watched or annoyed by the familiarity of natives, they slowly progressed, and on the 11th of July they came to a skirmish with them on the Darling, in which one of the men, who had gone for water, was wounded with a

spear, and a man and woman of the natives were killed, and another wounded. This was a circumstance very mortifying to the Major, as it made his further progress with so small a party, in the face of numerous and daring tribes, very doubtful. He, therefore, resolved to return. He "had traced the Darling for above 300 miles, through a country which did not supply a single stream, all the torrents which might descend from the sharp and naked hills being absorbed by the thirsty earth. Over the whole of this extensive region there grew but little grass, and few trees available for any useful pupose, except varieties of acacia, a tree so peculiar to these desert, interior regions, and which seemed to be nourished there only by the dews of night."

If they went on, they would have to traverse still 400 miles to the junction of the Murray and the Darling, which they now felt certain would be found where Captain Sturt had seen a river, which he believed to be it. They would have to proceed through a country subject to floods, and infested by great hordes of savages, very much inclined to war with them. They, therefore, on the 12th of July began to retrace their steps up the river, wading through polygonum scrubs, and noting several hills on their way, as Greenough's Range, and Mounts Murchison and Macpherson. On the 10th of August they were again at their old camp of Bourke's Fort, being already 300 miles on the way back, and only the same distance from Buree, which was only 170 miles from Sydney. At Fort Bourke they quitted the Darling to return by their former route along the Bogan, but before doing so Major Mitchell noted his general observations on the river, and the country round it.

The average breadth of the river they had found at the surface of the water about fifty yards, and in few places was there more water than would turn a mill, but there were flood-marks on the banks and trees, showing that it frequently rose to a considerable height. Near the river the soil was often as bare of vegetation as a fallow field, and so soft and loose that any weeds that

sprung up were blown out of the ground by the wind. The feet sunk to the ankles in walking over it; yet, in general, the river margin was the only well-grassed land. The rocks about the surface of the country were few and single. Besides the clay, nothing occurred in the bed of the river but calcareous concretions, selenite, and in some parts sandstone, similar to that at the base of almost all the hills. Back from the river, the first elevation usually consisted of hillocks of red sand, so soft and loose, that the cattle could scarcely draw the carts through it. Still farther back were low undulations of gravel, and very hard sandstone. The plains extend on each side of the channel six or seven miles, and are generally clear of timber. Beyond the plains, the country is generally covered with a stunted shrub, *Myoporum montanum*, but not many trees. The banks of the river themselves are bordered by gigantic blue-gums, the alluvial portions of the margin of the Darling with dwarf box, and the hollows with the *polygonum junceum*, an unsightly leafless bush or bramble.

As for the natives, the lower these travellers descended the river the more numerous and implacable they found them. They lived much on fish, and took them, as well as birds, and especially ducks, with nets. These nets were made of various materials, and were often very large, and had half-inch cords sometimes attached to them, which might be mistaken for the production of a rope-walk.

The party saw neither kangaroos nor emus lower down than Dunlop's Range, but they observed a remarkable kind of rat, the *Conilurus constructor* of Ogilby, which wove around its nest, in some bush, a large quantity of sticks, to defend itself from the native dogs or birds of prey. They observed, also, level places like flags of stone, which were always clean, as if swept. These were about six feet in diameter, and they found they were the roofs of the nest of a peculiar ant, and required a pick-axe to break into them. The bronze-winged pigeon was the most numerous of the pigeon tribe; but there

were large flocks of brown pigeons, and a small one of beautiful plumage. The black cockatoo, and the white one, were not uncommon, but a small one, with a scarlet and yellow crest, and pink wings, *Plyctolophus Leadbeateri*, much more so. The crows were amazingly bold, following them from camp to camp, watching their meat even when on the fire, and one of them actually carried off from the boiling pot a piece of pork of three pounds weight. The hawks were equally audacious, on one occasion pouncing down on a pigeon the moment it was shot, and bearing it off. In the river abounded the cod-perch, *Gristes Peelii*; the eel-fish, *Plotosus Tandanus*, and the mud-tasted fish, *Cernua Bidyara*. Amongst plants, they discovered a new caper-tree, *Capperis Mitchelii*, with fruit resembling a small pomegranate, with a hooked stalk.

On their return little demands observation. Their men were suffering from the scurvy, and the Major was glad to get one or two of them home alive. Already at about 100 miles beyond Buree, they came upon the flocks and herds of the squatters, who were fast following up the Bogan. Even the Major's boat-depôt, on the Nammoy, which had been made known only by his first despatch, was occupied by the stock-keepers of Sir John Jamieson, so alert were the settlers on the heels of discovery. They found the blacks of the tribe which had murdered Mr. Cunningham in great alarm at the rumour that soldiers were on the way to take vengeance, and though the Major only reached Sydney towards the end of September, on the 7th of December we find a despatch from Lieutenant Zouch, of the Mounted Police, announcing the capture of three out of four concerned in the murder; two of whom, however, managed to escape, and though pursued far into the bush, could not be retaken. They found a knife, a glove, and part of a cigar-case, part of his coat, and his Manilla hat. They also discovered some of his remains, which they buried, and raised a mound over them.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE THIRD EXPEDITION OF MAJOR MITCHELL TO THE DARLING AND MURRAY, AND ACROSS AUSTRALIA FELIX, NOW VICTORIA, IN 1836.

To the Darling and Murray, and across Australia Felix.—The Major's party.—Piper native guide.—Proceeds to the Lachlan.—Its appearance.—The hills.—Tree of Oxley and Evans.—Views from Mount Granard.—Drought.—Diverge from the Lachlan, and return.—Native accounts of Oxley's buried bottle, and Sturt's ride from the Murrumbidgee.—The aboriginal widow goes as guide.—Reach the Murrumbidgee.—Alarm of the natives at sheep and horses.—Trouble with natives.—Accidents.—The Murray.—Lake Benance.—Followed by the hostile tribes from the Lachlan.—Fight with them at Mount Dispersion.—Junction of the Darling.—Cross the Murray.—Throngs of natives.—Finer country.—Rich flats, swamps and ponds.—Mount Hope.—New animal.—Pyramid Hill.—Surprise at the beautiful and rich country.—The Yarrayne and Loddon.—Mountains south-west.—Numerous streams.—The widow sets out to return to the Lachlan.—Driven back by hostile natives.—Raptures of Major Mitchell over the fine country.—Supposes himself the first discoverer.—Mount William in the Grampians.—Cold night on the mountains.—The Wimmera.—Mount Arapiles.—The Victoria Range.—The mallee scrub.—Lakes to the west.—Fine country.—The Glenelg.—Sail upon it.—Beauty and fertility of the country.—The Chetwynd.—The Wannon.—Mouth of the Glenelg.—Turn homewards.—Cape Bridgewater.—Rifle Range.—The Crawford.—Portland Bay.—Find the brothers Henty settled there.—Fishing station.—The Pyrenees.—Fresh lakes and hills.—Major Mitchell divides his party.—Advances himself with a light detachment.—Mounts Sturgeon and Abrupt.—View of Port Phillip.—Frighten the natives at Mount Campbell by a stratagem.—Home route by the Goulburn, Broken River, the Ovens and the Murray.—Stations of the Murrumbidgee.—The widow married to the "King of the Murrumbidgee."—Sydney.

THE failure of Major Mitchell to prosecute the course of the Darling to its junction with the Murray, owing to his insufficient force, only rendered the Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, more resolute to have it done. The Major was apprised towards the end of the year 1835 that his Excellency proposed that he should, for this purpose, return to the extreme point of the Darling, at which his last journey had terminated, and trace the river into the Murray. That, crossing that river to the left bank, he should trace it upwards as far as practicable, and return to the colony somewhere about Yass Plains. The necessary preparations were at once made. The boats and boat-carriages of the last expedition were

as useful as ever for this. A much stronger party than the last was appointed, consisting, with himself and Mr. Stapylton, his second in command, of twenty-five men, all well armed with muskets and bayonets, carbines and pistols. Amongst them he had several who had been both journeys with him, and some who had been one. Burnett, Muirhead, Palmer and Woods, had been both journeys, and had received their freedom, for their excellent conduct on these expeditions. Jones, the shepherd, and Brown, the cook, had also been on both expeditions. Hammond, Thomas, Johnston, King, and Gayton, had been the last journey. If they behaved well all, on their return, were to receive pardons. The party, as before, preceded the Major three weeks, and he overtook them on the 15th of March at the Canobolos, the place fixed upon as the rendezvous, and not far from Bathurst. There he engaged John Piper, a native, as guide, who spoke English pretty well, and engaged to go through with them on condition that he had a horse, his food, clothing, etc. Major Mitchell was afraid that he would soon turn back, like "Mr. Brown," but Burnett had great confidence in him, and observed if they once got him some way into the interior, he would not dare to turn back, on account of the strange blacks.

On the 17th of March they set forward towards Buree, and thence along Berne's Creek to the Lachlan, ascending Mount Marga. They found the Lachlan exactly resembling the Darling, but on a smaller scale; the same large gum-trees, similar steep and muddy banks, and also a margin with an outer bank; but the water was dried up, except in a few small holes. In no place, however, had they seen such quantities of cattle as along the Lachlan, and spite of the drought, they looked well. They passed on in view of Mounts Cunningham, Melville, Allan, Amyot, etc. On the 30th of March, they saw the tree bearing the names of Messrs. Oxley and Evans, marking the spot where they left the Lachlan, to proceed southward, nineteen years before.

At Mount Allan they saw where the Gooleang Creek fell into the Lachlan, a fact which Oxley had not discovered. They next made for Mount Granard. This rocky range they were compelled to climb and encamp upon, as singularly it was the only place for miles round where a drop of water could be found. From its top they had a fine view of Hurd's Peak, Bolloon, the Goulburn, and Macquarie ranges, Mount Torrens and Mount Aiton, of Oxley. Still pursuing the Lachlan to Regent's Lake, Mount Moriàttu, the Coccaparra, and Tudolanga Ranges, through a country in extremest drought, they then left it for some time, under the instigation of a native, to seek in a west-north-west direction, Oolawàmbilöa, or the Great Water. Subsequent discoveries have shown that they might have gone far enough on that course without coming to the Darling, and they fortunately were soon compelled to return to the Lachlan, which they struck near Oxley's farthest point westward. They had been two days and nights without water. They now sought for the tree under which Mr. Oxley had buried a bottle with a memorandum in it, but a native told them, through Piper the interpreter, that the tree had been burnt down, and that a child found the bottle, who broke it, and there was a letter in it. They were also informed that one of Mr. Oxley's men had nearly been drowned in crossing the river there, which now was quite dry. That three white men on horseback, who had boats on the Murrumbidgee, had since visited this spot, and after going a little further, turned back. This must have been Captain Sturt and his companions.

They now struck south from the Lachlan for the Murrumbidgee, passing by the Lake Waljeers, which though four miles in circumference, and surrounded by large Yarra trees—white gum—was completely dry, and its bed covered with a rich verdure, exhaling a most delightful perfume, which proceeded from the cloverlike plant mentioned in the preceding journey, *Trigonella suavissima*. It smelt exactly like new-mown hay, and

some natives who had now attached themselves to them, said that their people eat it. These natives were a widow and her little daughter, called Turandury and Ballandella. The widow was an excellent guide, by means of Piper's English. Piper had also picked up a gin, and two youths had also joined them. As both of them had taken the name of Tommy, they were called Tommy Come-first, and Tommy Come-last, according to their order of arrival. They all behaved extremely well, and were most useful to the very last. Still traversing these dreary plains, covered with mesembryanthemum with its pink flowers, and salsolæ, and sometimes with Quandang bushes, overrun with the scarlet blaze of the flowers of the parasitical *Loranthus Quandang*, they reached the Murrumbidgee on the 10th of May, not very far from its junction with the Lachlan, and still nearer to Sturt's Depôt.

They found this river, unlike the Lachlan, flowing within eight feet of its banks, and its waters quite clear, and so much surpassing the Darling and all the Australian rivers they had yet seen, that they were, at first, inclined to believe it the Murray. Its banks were shaded by large blue-gum trees, and in some places, great beds of reeds. A tribe of natives who swam over from the other side, explained to their native guides that the Murrumbidgee joined a much larger river, named the Milliwa, a good way lower down; and that these united streams, met with at a still greater distance, the Oölawambilou, a river from the north, which received a smaller one, bringing with it all the waters of the Wamboul—the Macquarie.

These natives when invited to come across the river requested that those wild animals, the sheep and horses should be first driven away, much to the amusement of the native guides. Having heard their account of the course of the different rivers, Major Murray soon ascertained, by riding thither, that so far from the Lachlan terminating in a bay or lagoon, its banks were no better defined than where it joined the Murray. Returning to

the camp from this excursion, he found that a tribe of natives had tracked them on their late route, and were giving much trouble. The sound of the bugle startled them for awhile, but all the previous nights they had been heard in the scrub near the camp coeeing, and some rockets were now sent up to astonish them, which had the effect, for they disappeared. Piper too had taken care to inform them "Bell gammon soldiers," that soldiers were no joke.

The camp was settled on the bank of the Murrumbidgee, whilst the major went forward to explore its fall into the Murray, and to trace the banks of that river to the Darling. They had several accidents before leaving the camp. A mare had broken the leg of one of the horses a short time before, and now she broke the leg of the Major's horse, so that he was obliged to have it shot. The widow's child, Ballandella, also fell from a cart, which passing over its thigh, fractured it. The doctor soon set it, but it caused great fright and distress to the widow. On reaching the Murray, they found it 165 yards wide, its waters whitish, as if there had been a flood; the height of the red bank, not subject to inundation twenty-five feet, so that by comparing these measurements with the Murrumbidgee, which at Weyeba, was fifty yards wide, with banks eleven feet high, they had a good idea of the Murray. The river at that place had no bergs or second banks, and the bank itself consisted of the common red earth, covered with the same acacia bushes and scrub of the interior.

In proceeding with a portion of his party to follow down the Murray to the Darling, Major Mitchell soon came on a fine lake in the midst of the woods, full sixteen miles in circumference, called by the natives Benanee. Like all they had seen before, this lake was surrounded by a ridge of red earth, rather higher than the adjacent plains. They had then to cross a deep channel, that seemed to lead from it to the river, and whilst doing this, they became aware of a great number of natives who beckoned to them repeatedly, saying at

the same time, "Gowày, gowày, gowày," which, however, Piper said, meant "Come, come, come," but gestures accompanying the words, appeared more agreeable to our meaning of the words. What was the astonishment of the travellers, on going nearer to them to recognise them as their old enemies of the Darling. Major Mitchell had indeed been told, when far up on the Lachlan, that this tribe was coming down to fight them, but they little expected that they should meet them on the Murray, two hundred miles from the scene of their former encounter. There they were, however; they distinctly recognised the man who threw the two spears at Muirhead, and two daughters and a little son of the gin who had unfortunately been killed in repelling their attack, were put prominently forward. In the first ranks also was a man, whom the natives said was the brother and successor of King Peter, who had likewise been killed on that occasion; and these savages on their part recognised Charles King, who had fired on the natives to save Tom Jones. It was too clear that they were bent on mischief, and were come far for revenge.

As the night set in they hung about the camp, lit up five great fires, and formed a cordon round it. Burnett came to inform the Major that they had sent away all their gins, which was their regular custom before an attack, and Piper came also to announce that his gin had heard the blacks planning to seize him, and others to attack the tents. They were all "Myalls," he said, that is "wild fellows." As the night became darker they drew closer about the carts, and the Major then sent up a rocket, and the men gave three cheers, when they retreated into the shade of the woods. A strict watch was kept all night, but in the morning they were again advancing on the camps, and they began setting the bush on fire. On this the Major ordered all the men under arms, and to advance on the native camp, when they precipitately retreated. The party then moved forward, but they soon heard the savages in their rear, and on

reaching the Murray, they found numbers of them already armed with spears. Still the party advanced, making a direct cut through the bush, across a bend of the river, and had to encamp midway for the night. The next day they regained the river, and towards evening the natives were found coming on behind them. They met some other blacks near the river who belonged to another tribe, and told them that these hostile blacks were the same who had tried to kill another white man (Captain Sturt) at the junction of the river lower down. That these savages were come to fight them, and asked why they did not fire on them. Piper learned that they had found the two bullocks which had been left behind on the former journey, and killed and eaten them; and no doubt calculated on some more good beef.

The following morning the expedition proceeded as usual, but the natives pressed rudely on their rear, and the Major sent Burnett and Piper with a party into the thicket, to watch as they came up, and make certain that they were the same hostile natives; but this ambuscade was immediately discovered by one of the dogs of the natives, which howled and gave the alarm. The whole horde instantly halted and poised their spears, when King, one of the ambush, thought it time to defend themselves, and fired. His example was immediately followed by the rest, and the natives fled pell-mell for the river. The rest of the men rushed impetuously forth to the assistance of their fellows, and followed up their fire on the flying crowd, and continued it as they were swimming across the river. The sound of so much firing had effectually terrified these teasing enemies, and Piper reported that some of them were killed. The Major, though taken by surprise, felt that nothing else could ultimately have come of it. These people had followed him for 200 miles with evil intentions; they had prevented him dividing his party; and compelled him to return from the Darling before, and unless a salutary terror could be instilled into them, it would be impossible to proceed with the expedition. Slight

skirmishes were lost on them; there needed a sharp punishment to convince them that they were no match for white men with fire-arms. For the time the chastisement appeared effectual. On returning to the horses and cattle, which had been abandoned to themselves on the sound of the firing, Piper's gin was found standing at their head, holding the reins of the first horse with one hand, and Piper's sword supported on her shoulder with the other, the guardian of all they possessed. A singular instance of courage and fidelity in a native woman!

The little hill, says the Major, which witnessed this overthrow, and was the harbinger of peace and tranquillity, they named Mount Dispersion. Their way on was intercepted, not by blacks, but what the Major calls, after the learned nomenclature of Colonel Jackson, in the Journal of the Geographical Society, anabranches of the river, but which the natives call billibongs, channels coming out of a stream and returning into it again, by ponds, and mallee-scrub, with patches of the callitris pine. Before they reached the Murray again, they met with another detachment of the Darling natives, who had not heard of the defeat of their friends, and came up boldly and begged for axes; but the Major had now learned that the giving of such things to these daring fellows was the worst of policy, for instead of exciting any gratitude, it only stimulated their intense desire for them, and as all naturally wanted what they saw to be so advantageous, they were ready to kill them, that they might seize all they had. From this time, therefore, as a rule, he dropped the custom of presents.

On reaching the channel of the Darling, they resolved to trace it upwards for some distance, before visiting its junction with the Murray. Here, however, they found themselves in the midst of a large body of the natives again, who were endeavouring to surprise and seize them, so that they might plunder their drays, imagining that their persons were invulnerable to spears. They were, however, alarmed by the armed and prepared aspect of

the whites, and on the Major halting his men, and giving them some orders, they decamped into the woods, where their cooées were continually heard, making it apparent that though unseen, they were keeping up with them. The country was low, flat, and scrubby, like what they had seen higher up the river, and its identity being no longer doubtful, they turned and went down to its entrance into the Murray. This they found very much as described by Captain Sturt. The two rivers ran westward, or rather their channels did, for the Darling had now no water, except the turbid water of the Murray, which filled its mouth and was still. There was the narrow neck of land running betwixt the two rivers, and into the Murray was seen the extending sand-bank where the natives stood to intercept Captain Sturt's party.

They were here a hundred miles from their camp and the rest of their party; and their anxiety lest Mr. Stapylton might be attacked by the natives in their absence, determined them to return; but before leaving they buried a bottle at the foot of a tree, containing the particulars of their arrival there, with their names, and the date, and their departure for the depôt. They marked the tree with a large M. and "Dig." Their return to the camp was wholly unmolested by natives, and enriched by many new botanical discoveries, amongst them the *Gyrostemon pungens*, every part of it tasting strongly of horse-radish. The camp also had been quite undisturbed.

On the 13th of June they crossed the Murray, in the presence of numerous natives on the farther side, who, however, behaved in a friendly manner. They were, nevertheless, very clamorous for tomahawks, but the Major refused them, and let them know, through Piper, that the men were very apt to be "saucy" with their guns if they were incommoded. On reaching the junction of the Murrumbidgee, they found that there was a fresh in it as well as in the Murray. Here they noticed an unknown animal about the size of a young rabbit, with a long slender snout, and without a tail, which was

afterwards named by Mr. Ogilby, the naturalist, *Chaeropus Ecaudatus*.

No sooner were they on the left bank of the Murray, than they found the country greatly improved. The lands on the borders of both the Murray and Murrumbidgee were finely grassed, and well adapted for cattle-stations. They followed the course of the Murray, and found it running through extensive flats, abounding with lagoons and billibongs. Among these grew large white gum-trees; swans and kangaroos were numerous. They continued to travel outside these flats on the distant higher land, and reaching a hill which they named Swan Hill, they found two other streams there falling into the Murray, the Avoca and Loddon. The fine pasturage lands on these rivers excited the Major's admiration. "The soil in these grassy flats was of the richest description; indeed, the whole of the country covered with reeds, seemed capable of being converted into good wheat land, and of being easily irrigated at any time by the river. The Murray, navigable when we were there, might convey produce to the sea. There was no miasmatic savannah, nor any dense forest to be cleared: the genial south played over these reedy flats, which may one day be converted into clover fields. For cattle-stations the land possessed every requisite, affording excellent winter grass back amongst the scrubs, to which cattle usually resort at such seasons; while at others they could fatten on the rich grass of the plains, or during the summer heat enjoy the reeds and abundance of water."

Over a similar country, intersected by several lakes, they reached a hill of granite rocks, which they named Mount Hope. On the way, Piper had a skirmish with some natives, and according to his own report, shot one. In general, the natives were shy, and got out of the way as fast as they could. They met with an animal of the jerboa tribe, afterwards named *Dipus Mitchelli*, which seems to be the kangaroo rat, and various new shrubs and flowers. They were doubtful whether they were

now on the Murray or the Goulburn, but the country was so inviting that they pushed on. Major Mitchell ascended a pile of granite rocks, about five and a half miles south-west of Mount Hope, which he found to rise 300 feet above the level country, and giving immense view over the surrounding plains, shining fresh and green in the morning sun. To this mount he gave the name of Pyramid Hill, and observes:—"The scene was different from anything I had ever before witnessed, either in New South Wales or elsewhere. A land so inviting, and still without inhabitants! As I stood, the first European intruder on the sublime solitude of those verdant plains, as yet untouched by flocks or herds, I felt conscious of being the harbinger of mighty changes, and that our steps would soon be followed by the men and the animals for which it seemed to have been prepared." He saw ranges of mountains southward. Holding south-west over this beautiful country, they crossed a stream, which the natives called the Yarrayne, shaded by lofty white groves, and then forded the Loddon.

Before reaching this stream, the widow set out on the daring attempt to reach her distant country beyond the Murray, with the prospect of carrying her child nearly all the way, its thigh bone being only recently reunited again. She thought nothing of having to swim the Murray, pushing her child before her on a sheet of bark; but some menacing natives soon compelled her to return.

Continuing their route south-west, they passed through a country so beautiful and rich, that the Major scarcely finds words to express his admiration of it. Leaving the Loddon, they crossed several minor streams, all flowing through open grassy vales, bounded by finely undulating hills. Passing a chain of deep ponds, and over some low hills of quartz rock, bearing an open bare forest, he says: "We descended on one of the most beautiful scenes I ever saw. The turf, the woods, the banks of the little stream which meandered through the little vale, had so much the appearance of a well-kept park, that I felt

loath to injure its surface by the passage of our cart wheels." Soon after, they crossed the Avoca, amid similar scenes of loveliness. To the south, east, and west, they saw mountains stretching, and made for them to obtain a full view of the country. In going thither, with five others on horseback, the Major was still more delighted. One after another, they crossed beautiful streams, fertile valleys, chains of deep ponds. One of these streams they named the Avon, and the Major again broke out in praises of this grand discovery. "At length we had discovered a country ready for the immediate reception of civilised man, and destined, perhaps, eventually to become a portion of a great empire. Unencumbered by too much wood, it yet possessed enough for all purposes. Its soil was exuberant, and its climate temperate; it was bounded on three sides by the ocean, and it was traversed by mighty rivers, and watered by streams innumerable. Of this Eden, I was the first European to explore its mountains and streams, to behold its scenery, to investigate its geological character, and by my survey to develope those natural advantages, certain to become, at no distant date, of vast importance to a new people." —(Vol. ii. p. 171.)

All this was very true, and a real excuse for such exultation, except in one important particular—it was totally oblivious of the well known fact, that Messrs. Hovell and Hume had before traversed this paradise, though in a more southerly direction, and not far short of the distance at which the Major had now arrived—for he was at the foot of Mount William, in the Grampians, to which as well as to the Avon, the Avoca, the Loddon, and to many other streams, hills, and lakes he gave the present familiar names. Still drawing nearer to these mountains, they crossed another river, to which he gave the name of Richardson, after his botanical collector, who got a good ducking in it. Crossing a number of the tributaries of the Richardson and of the yet undiscovered Wimmera, they approached Mount William. They ascended it, and passed a most uncomfortable night upon it; for it

was the 14th of July, and therefore the depth of winter. They had very little food, very little fire, no shelter from the keen wind and driving sleet, and the next morning was too hazy to allow of an extensive view southward. Occasionally, however, the haze divided, so as to let them see great plains southward free from timber, and that the country generally was level. To the west, the aspect of the mountains was grand. Towards the interior, the atmosphere was clearer. On the mountains, though the rocks were cased in ice, they found a splendid species of epacris in flower—the *Epacris grandiflora*, and in descending, added many interesting plants to their collection, of the species Phebalium, Cryptandra, Bækea, Pultenæa, Bossæa, Genetyllis, Diosma, Grevillea, &c. The health of two of the men, however, was seriously injured by this night's exposure.

The party now held along the north side of the Grampians westward, and at some distance, as the soil at the foot of the hill was wet and deep; but along the plains, which were of very firm clay, the cattle and carts travelled well. They crossed no less than five branches of the Wimmera, the main stream thus denominated by the natives they also passed, directing their course to a hill at the western extremity of the range, which they named Mount Zero. From this hill they saw the country westward pretty level, but abounding with lake beyond lake. To the north they discovered an isolated hill, which they named Mount Arapiles, and Major Mitchell, in riding towards this distant hill, passed over grassy undulating plains, with clumps of casuarina and box gums. They still crossed ponds, two streams, which they named the Mackenzie and the Norton, and again the Wimmera. From the Arapiles, the Major gazed over vast plains to the westward, and counted twenty-seven circular lakes. From the Grampian Range, he saw another running southward, which he named the Victoria Range. Situated between Arapiles and a lake to the northward lay an insulated rock, which he named the Mitre Rock, from its shape. Arapiles consists of

sandstone, passing into quartz. Many of the lakes, and amongst them Mitre Lake, were quite salt. Much of the soil on the plains near Arapiles was dark coloured, and emitted the same peculiar smell which they had perceived at Cudjallagong, beyond the Murray, the Regent's Lake of Oxley. Mr. Stapylton, riding considerably to the northward, entered on dreary plains, with mallee scrub. Still, however, journeying westward, through much beautiful country, abounding with lakes, streams, and plains of richest pasturage, with occasional ridges of sand scattered with forest trees, they were continually finding new plants. There were abundance of kangaroos, and on the lakes, black swans and ducks. The drays, meantime, found it heavy work, traversing the earthy plains; but on the 20th of June, they found themselves suddenly entering on solid granite, and were brought to a stand-still by the discovery of a fine new river, the Glenelg. This river was 120 feet wide and 12 deep. Granite protruded in some places, but in general, the bold features of the valley through which this stream flowed were beautifully smooth and swelling. They were not much wooded, but on the contrary were almost clear of timber, and accessible everywhere. It was resolved to get the boats into the water, and in them trace the course of the river; but they were soon brought to a pause by the thick overhanging branches, and then by a waterfall. But this short voyage only still more excited the Major's admiration of the country through which it ran. He thought it "the finest imaginable, either for sheep and cattle, or for cultivation." A little rill murmured through each ravine—

> "Where scattered streams from granite basins burst,
> Leapt into life, and sparkling, wooed your thirst."

"But it was in returning along a winding ridge towards the camp," he observes, "that I was most struck with the beauty and substantial value of the country on the banks of this river. It seemed that the land was everywhere alike good, alike beautiful; all parts were

alike verdant, whether on the finely-varied hills, or in the equally romantic vales, which seemed to open in endless succession on both banks of the river."—Vol. ii. p. 201.

A further attempt to follow the river by land proved too tedious, but still more increased the admiration of the party for the beauty and richness of the country. Besides innumerable little streams, they found large ponds. "A more beautiful distribution of waters for the supply of a numerous population could not be conceived, nor a soil better adapted for cultivation." The country itself was open forest land, over which were scattered a few gum trees, banksias, and casuarinas. They endeavoured to ascertain whether the Murray cod was found here, but did not succeed. They now advanced westward again, and soon crossed a rivulet falling into the Glenelg, which they named the Chetwynd, after Mr. Stapylton, who explored it at considerable risk. Anon they found themselves again on the Glenelg, in a country still as beautiful as before. Proceeding now southward, they crossed a river called the Wannon, and another which they named the Stokes. They soon fell in again with the main stream of the Glenelg, which a native woman told them was called the Wando. Finding the river was now much increased by fresh streams, they once more embarked on it, and found it sixty yards wide, and the current slow. Fine limestone cliffs rose here and there from its banks; cascades flowed out of caverns hung with stalactites, and the shores were then again hung with dripping shrubs and creepers, or came down to the water in green, grassy slopes. The river abounded with the platypus, ducks, and black swans.

As they approached the sea, the river turned suddenly west, and then south-eastward again. From the splendid body of water down which they had sailed, the finest the Major thought he had seen in Australia, they had great hope of finding a good harbour at its mouth, but in this they were disappointed. The river spread out into two shallow basins, and issued to the sea in two shallow chan-

nels, capable only of allowing the passage of small craft. They named the bay into which the Glenelg debouched Discovery Bay. Mount Gambier from this point showed 23° 40′ north by east, and a height near the extreme point of the coast to the eastward proved to be Cape Bridgewater.

Returning to the camp up the river, on the 23rd of August, and having traversed Australia Felix exactly to its western boundary, as afterwards determined on the meridian of 141° E., they now turned their faces homewards. In doing this, however, they took a more southern course, and first proceeded to explore the Rifle Range, running from the Grampians towards Cape Bridgewater, and thus enclosing on the east the basin of the Glenelg. In doing this they followed the river Crawford for some distance eastward, and found themselves entangled amongst alternate ranges, lagoons and swamps. The timber was of vast size, and for the first time they found their way greatly obstructed by fallen trees. Major Mitchell made an excursion on horseback to Portland Bay, near Lady Julia Percy's Island, over much fine meadow land, where he went round the bay, and on to Cape Bridgewater and Cape Nelson. On Portland Bay he found the brothers Henty, from Van Diemen's Land, had already been established there two years, on a great whaling and squatting station, and were bringing over fresh sheep and cattle as fast as vessels could be procured, to occupy the splendid country around. The bay was greatly frequented by whalers, and the Major was informed that 700 tons of oil had been shipped that season. At the request of the Messrs. Henty, Major Mitchell named the latter river, which ran through their location into the bay, the Surrey, and the hill near it, Mount Clay.

In directing their course north-east from Portland Bay, they were so impeded by the softness of the soil, that they left one of their boats behind. On the 4th of September, the Major ascended a hill, which he named Mount Napier, and found it to be decidedly of volcanic

origin, having on the summit a deep crater. From the summit he had a fine view of the Grampian Range northward. Kangaroos abounded in the country at the foot of the hills. On the 8th he made a second ascent for further observation. He saw two large lakes, one of which he named Lake Linlithgow, behind Mount Napier, and Mount Abrupt, the south-eastern termination of the Grampians, as Mount William was the north-eastern; and near these lakes extensive stretches of open, grassy land. On a third ascent he could see west as far as the Valley of Nangula—the Glenelg. Eastward he saw over a woody horizon a range of hills, which he named the Pyrenees; and on the shore, near Lady Julia Percy's Isle, he saw an isolated hill, which he named Mount Hotspur.

In advancing eastward, they were compelled to lighten their carts by throwing away many things to enable them to pass the swamps between the different hills. They still continued to collect specimens of fresh flowers. They saw and named Mounts Bainbrigge and Pierpoint, which lay north and south of their route. To the north, also, they named a large lake, Lake Neville. The country was still magnificent. From the summits of Mounts Sturgeon and Abrupt, at the south-eastern extremity of the Grampians, the Major obtained immense views, and found the Wannon running from these mountains.

From this point the Major went on with a light party, leaving the rest to come on with the drays, under care of Mr. Stapylton. Piper and Tommy Come-last went with him as guides; Tommy Come-first and the widow remained with Mr. Stapylton, but the widow entrusted her child with the Major, only painting herself round the eyes with white, in sign of mourning. The Major's track was now along the southern slopes of the Pyrenees, by the river Hopkins, Mount Nicholson, still through a most beautiful pastoral country, with salt lakes, and numerous fresh-water streams; by the volcanic Mount Greenock and Mount Byng. They crossed the sources of a stream flowing northward, which they believed to be

the Lodden, and directed their course to Mount Macedon, all the way wondering at the fertile plains and admirable pastoral valleys of the country. A more splendid territory the Major thought he had never seen. From the summit of Mount Macedon he obtained a view of Port Phillip, with Indented Head and Point Nepean, which he recognised, though fifty miles off, as the first cape that he had seen from the hills in passing eastward. In returning to their camp from Mount Macedon, they discovered a fine waterfall, called by the natives, Cabaw, on the river Barnard. The natives which they saw here and there were generally quiet, and got out of their way, but near Mount Campbell, a party of them hanging about the camp suspiciously, the Major, by a theatrical stratagem, sent them off in a hurry. At night, Burnett issued forth, holding a blue-light, and wearing a gilt mask. He then fired a rocket, and two men, concealed behind the carts, bellowed hideously through speaking-trumpets, whilst all the rest shouted amain. On examining the place where the natives had camped themselves, a number of rude clubs were found newly prepared, and the party did not doubt but that they were meant to knock their brains out with during their sleep.

From this point the Major's route homewards was over such now well-known ground, that I need scarcely do more than say that it was by that which thence became the great highway to Sydney. They crossed the Campaspè, the Goulburn, the Broken River, through Futter's Ranges, over the Ovens, and so to the Murray, crossing at the present Albury, and thence across the Murrumbidgee. In a swampy river betwixt the Goulburn and Futter's Range, probably the Broken River, they had the misfortune to have a man drowned.

Arrived on the Murrumbidgee, the Major might be said to be in a civilized country, for he found cattle stations already established, and went on from one to another in great ease and comparative luxury, after his long wanderings in the wilderness. Mr. Stapylton followed in his tract prosperously, and on reaching the

Murrumbidgee, the widow Turandury, who had made them so excellent a guide on the Darling, was married to Joey the native king of the Murrumbidgee; her daughter went with the Major to be educated in Sydney, where, on his returning to England, she remained under the care of Sir Charles Nicholson. The other natives were rewarded and sent to their tribe, under protection of a party of settlers going in that direction.

The Major himself had to tell a most inspiring story at Sydney, of the discovery of by far the most fertile and attractive region hitherto found in Australia. Of a country capable at once, of receiving a whole nation to its genial bosom; its grassy and flowery plains, its open, pastoral forests, its romantic hills, and streams pouring vegetable abundance through delightful valleys, and round the feet of grandly forested hills. It was a land of moor and mountain, of lake and river, of green savanna and of velvet downs, destined to be very soon dotted with snowy flocks. It was a discovery to be proud of. Hovell and Hume had traced it from the Snowy Mountains to the sea near Port Phillip; he had traversed it in a more northern course, from the Murray to the Glenelg. From his Dan to his Beersheba, he had found little occasion to cry "barren!" but on the contrary; and he was by no means extravagant in his prophecy, that this noble region would soon swarm with population. There was an element, however, in its rocks and its soil, that with all his geological scrutinies, he failed to detect—an element of immense influence in that vast prosperity which he foresaw—an ocean of buried gold. We may safely say that no more important territorial discovery had been made in the present age, than that of Victoria by Hovell, Hume, and Mitchell.

Yet at the very time that Major afterwards made Sir Thomas Mitchell for this service, was travelling over this enchanted land, standing perfectly ready for a civilized population, yet for the most part silent and tenantless, it was a land on which the white man had already

set his foot and his mark. The Major was but just in time to call it a discovery. Two years before his own entrance on it, namely, in 1834, the Messrs. Henty had established their whaling, and their sheep and cattle station at Portland Bay. The Major found them there living amid their flocks and herds, amid their grassy meadows and pleasant hills, the patriarchs of boundless regions. Already, a year before his entry, too, Batman and Fawkner had planted their rival standards on the site of a great, but yet unborn capital, and John Fawkner, the Father of Melbourne, had struck the plough into the virgin soil of the Yarra Valley. The floodgates of a vast inpouring life were already opened, and there was hardly time for Major Mitchell to sing his Io Pean! ere, by a rapidity of march, hitherto unknown, a new nation was created.

CHAPTER XX.

SETTLEMENT OF PORT PHILLIP BY BATMAN AND HIS ASSOCIATES.

Batman and his associates.—Mr. Gellibrand.—Their proposal to settle in Port Phillip.—Proposal declined by the Government of New South Wales.—Company formed in Van Diemen's Land to graze in Port Phillip and civilize the natives.—Batman purchases land of the natives.—Bargain for 500,000 acres.—Views of aggrandisement avowed by these civilizers.—The home government puts a quietus on the scheme.—Arrival of John Fawkner.—Settles Melbourne.—Buckley.—His story.—Fate of Gellibrand and Hesse.—Their remains.—Hills named after them.—Discovery of Gippsland by Mr. M'Millan.—Strzelecki's explorations.—Orr's journey across Gippsland.—Botany and flocks of Victoria.—Count Strzelecki's theory regarding native women.—Refuted by Mr. Robinson.

We have now arrived at the period when it is necessary to record the settlement of Victoria, originally named Port Phillip from Governor Phillip, and afterwards Australia Felix by Sir Thomas Mitchell. We have already seen in Sir Thomas's expedition across Victoria, that emigrants from Van Diemen's Land were finding their way into it. Though that island was only settled in 1804, yet in 1838 its flocks were become too numerous for its pasturage. A sudden and determined effort was now, therefore, made to carry over the flocks and herds of Tasmania, to this fertile portion of the continent, and to found new and ample pastures there; but it is rather curious that this was done under the plea of kindness to the natives.

John Batman, who writes himself of Ben Lomond, Van Diemen's Land, informed Colonel Arthur, the governor of that island, in a letter dated May 25th, 1838, that at the expense, and in conjunction with several gentlemen, inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land, he, a native of New South Wales, but for the last six years actively engaged in endeavouring to civilize the natives of Van Diemen's Land, had formed a project for civilizing the natives of Port Phillip. That to facili-

tate this object, he had procured eleven natives of New South Wales, who had acted under his guidance. These, no doubt, are the natives to whom Mr. Robinson alludes in his account of his transactions with the Van Diemen's Land blacks, and whom he had refused to have anything to do with, because they knew nothing of the language of the Tasmanian natives. Whatever were Mr. Batman's efforts at civilization of the Van Diemen's Land natives, he seems soon to have cast his eyes more desiringly across Bass's Straits, as to a new Land of Promise, and he informs us in his letter to Colonel Arthur, that in 1827, he and Mr. J. T. Gellibrand of Hobart Town, and Attorney-general of Van Diemen's Land, had entertained the project of forming a pastoral settlement on the fertile shores of Port Phillip, either at Port Phillip itself, or at Western Point. That, for this purpose, they had solicited permission of the government of New South Wales, to occupy land there, offering at once to place stock upon it to the value of £5000, which should for a certain number of years remain under Mr. Batman's management. The New South Wales Government declined this proposal on the plea that this district lay beyond the limits of that colony.

This repulse seems to have put a damper upon the adventurers for about eight years, but it did not altogether extinguish the fire of speculation. After much pondering on the rich lands lying so invitingly across the Straits, and the reply of the Sydney Government, it dawned upon these gentlemen that as they could not obtain leave from New South Wales, and that because the New South Wales Government did not claim the land, they might as well claim it themselves. They did not, however, profess to have any selfish objects in view, on the contrary, their souls were a-glow with a desire to convert and civilize the natives of Port Phillip. What progress they had made in civilizing the natives at home around them in Van Diemen's Land, Mr. Batman does not inform us. Probably they thought them in very

good hands with Mr. Robinson—at all events, he and his confederates proposed to pass over to Port Phillip, "obtain from the natives a grant of a portion of that territory upon equitable principles, by which the object of civilization would be established, which, in process of time, would lead to the civilization of a large portion of the aborigines of that extensive country."

Admirable benevolence! the prospects of aboriginal civilization must have been most consolatory and flattering, when they reflected in what a condition of the Van Diemen's Land natives, such efforts at civilization had resulted, namely, that the Tasmanian whites had recently been under the necessity of deporting all and every one of the natives from their patrimonial soil. Fired with his sublime anticipations of the civilization of the Port Phillip natives, and of the acquisition of *a large territory for themselves*—a substantial comfort should the civilization part of the project prove a dream—Mr. Batman sailed from Launceston on the 12th of May, 1835, in a small vessel called the Norvall, accompanied by seven Sydney natives, and landed at Indented Head, in Port Phillip, on the 26th of the same month. Probably the example of the Brothers Henty, who the preceding year had formed a whaling and bucolic settlement on the same shores at Portland Bay, had added fresh vigour to the Batman and Gellibrand scheme of civilization. However, Batman at once equipped his seven New South Wales aborigines, "in their native dresses," whatever these might be, and landed with them and some of the sailors, and advanced towards some huts of the Port Phillip blacks, whence they saw a smoke. The natives, however, had decamped at sight of the vessel, and Batman and his Sydney blacks and sailors marched into the country after them, and in about ten miles they came up with some of them, who told them the chiefs were still farther up the country. On reaching them, Batman says he explained to them through the Sydney blacks that he wanted to buy land, and come and live among them. That they understood all he had

to say, and consented. That he then spent five days in surveying the country, and finding it, as we know, a most goodly land, he proposed his terms to the chiefs—the whole party, men, women and children, only numbering twenty-five—and went with the chiefs to point out the boundaries of the land he wanted. He says the chiefs marked trees at the corners of these boundaries, and gave him their private mark, a great secret unknown to the women. He then drew up a deed in three parts, making the transfer of this territory from the chiefs to himself, which, he says, these same learned chiefs signed, and, moreover, gave him each a piece of the soil as an evidence of the purchase. Having, he says, traversed about fifty miles of the country, and found it beautifully interspersed with rivers and creeks, and downs, and of the finest grazing land that he had ever seen, he left five natives and three whites to commence a garden near the harbour, and to erect a house for him, and on the 14th of June he embarked for Launceston, which he reached in thirty-six hours.

Mr. Batman does not inform us either how much land he purchased, what he gave for it, or what were the names of these remarkable chiefs who signed, sealed and delivered the legal documents which he drew up specifying and ratifying this bargain. He contents himself with saying that it was done on equitable principles: but he gives us the names of the gentlemen who joined him in this philanthropic enterprise, who, as the patriarchs of Port Phillip, we are bound to record, namely:—Charles Swanston, Thomas Bannister, James Simpson, Joseph Tice Gellibrand, J. and W. Robertson, Henry Arthur, H. Wedge, J. Sinclair, J. T. Collicott, Anthony Cotterel, W. G. Sams, Michael Connolly, George Mercer, Esquires.

He also informs us that they intended to convey over during the first year 20,000 breeding ewes. In a letter of the following February Mr. Gellibrand informs us that he had just returned from a survey of the Company's lands at Port Phillip, and also other rich lands westward.

Mr. Gellibrand is in the most enthusiastic state of mind. "The whole country is of the most beautiful description, the lands of the best quality—every part of Batman's account correct." The natives are as fine as the land, and he is confident that if the Government does not interfere with them they shall "be able immediately to civilize and evangelize the inhabitants." He adds, "I confess that I am sanguine enough to imagine that I can trace the finger of Providence, and that we shall be the humble instruments of communicating temporal and eternal happiness to our benighted neighbours. If we only sow the seed we may expect a blessing upon it, and that its effect will extend over the continent of our New Holland."

Mr. Gellibrand, however, is not so fully lost in the celestial haze of the civilization of the whole continent of New Holland, as not to be able to descend to the solid earth which they had secured, or thought they had. Writing to a friend he says the lands have been divided into seventeen sections. That Mercer's is the finest of the whole, well watered, 15,000 acres in extent, and a vale running through it, which they have named Mercer's Vale. Mercer's, S——'s, Sams's or Simpson's, probably, and his own lie together, 200,000 acres, not an acre of bad land, but the most beautiful country he had ever seen. Mercer's was well worth £100,000, but they had only charged him £50,000. Then he recommends his friend to secure the Barraboul Hills, a tract of magnificent country, bounded on the east by the river Burwan, 30,000 acres as good as Mercer's, though he had just said that Mercer's was "the finest of the whole."

Still we have not arrived at the names of the venders or the price given "on equitable principles" for these splendid territories; neither do they occur in a deed executed between Batman and these his evangelizing colleagues, singularly enough on the 13th of June, 1835, and to which the hands not only of Batman, but of Swanston, Gellibrand, and Simpson are set,

though Batman did not leave Port Phillip till the 14th, and none of these signers were with him at that time. This indenture, however, shows us more clearly the extent of this princely purchase. It is thus described:— "All that tract and indented head of land situate on the Bay of Port Phillip, known by the name of Geelong, extending from Geelong Harbour about due south ten miles to the Heads of Port Phillip, taking in the whole tract of land, and containing about 100,000 acres of land, more or less; and also all that other tract of land situate at Port Phillip, running from the branch of the river at the top of the Port, about seven miles from the mouth of the river, forty miles north-east, and from thence west forty miles across Iramao Downs or Plains, and from thence south-west across Valawmarnartar (the Vilnumnati Hills), to Geelong Harbour, at the head of the same, containing 500,000 acres, more or less, together with all timber, ways, rights, appurtenances, etc., etc."

All these half million of acres were appropriated by Batman, Gellibrand, Swanston, and Simpson. Hence the pretty little figures they were putting on the lots of Mercer and the rest. But all, no doubt, in the cause of civilization. We must not suspect such ardent philanthropists of any meaner motives. All these goodly acres were duly made over to the heirs and assigns of these four disinterested gentlemen for ever. Still more, they were looking westward for yet more extended domains. Gellibrand related with his usual enthusiasm what rich lands he saw stretching westward, and was recommending one of his friends to secure 30,000 acres beyond the Burwan. In none of their deeds of transfer, however, do we meet with the names of the illustrious chiefs from whom they had obtained their territories, nor the sum given for them. These, however, transpired in Batman's correspondence, and the value given for all these lands was at length stated in the correspondence of the Association with the Home Government. These chiefs were Jagajaga Jagajaga, Cooloolook Bungaric, Yanyan Mow-

strip and Mommamala, and the price was £200 per annum in annuity, a magnificent price when we consider that the four original speculators had at once put a value of £50,000 on one-seventeenth share of the property—that is, £2,500 a-year, and they declared it well worth £100,000, or £5000 a-year. Such were these gentlemen's ideas of equitable principles, and of the best mode of civilizing and evangelizing savages. It was even confessed by them that Wooloomooloo, their native Sydney interpreter, did not understand these Port Phillip blacks, nor they him, so that the whole transaction was on the part of Batman a solemn hoax.

But the magnificent speculations of these gentlemen received a severe check from both the colonial and the imperial governments, which repudiated any bargains entered into with aborigines by British subjects independent of the sovereignty of their own nation. In vain did they in a long correspondence with the home government dilate on their equitable principles, their zealous desires to evangelize the natives, and on the value of the flocks and herds which they had sent over; Lords Gray, Glenelg, and Stanley, alike turned a deaf ear to all their eloquence, and cut them ruthlessly down to 20,000 instead of 750,000 acres, to which they now laid claim. Still worse, one John Fawkner and a few friends sailed over to Port Phillip, and, paying no regard whatever to their compact with the natives, coolly squatted himself down at a little distance from Batman's hut on the so-called Batman's hill, turned out his flocks where Melbourne now stands, and complacently began to plough up the meadow land just on the eastern bank of the Yarra. From that location John Fawkner never budged, but successively opening an inn and a newspaper office, whence he issued a MS. newspaper, and has continued to watch the growth of that extraordinary town from his own single hut to a population of more than a hundred thousand souls.

BUCKLEY.

One of the most remarkable incidents of the original transactions of the Van Diemen's Land Association with the natives of Port Phillip was the sudden appearance of a gigantic fellow, six feet eight inches in stature, amongst the aborigines, arrayed like them, and carrying his boomerang and spear, but who turned out to be an Englishman. He was one of four convicts who had been taken by Colonel Collins in 1803 to Port Phillip, when sent to found a colony there. As Collins unaccountably missed the splendid country at the head and on the western side of the bay, and sailed away, and settled Hobart Town, these four convicts managed to escape into the woods, and were left behind. The other three had perished either by natural causes or from the hands of the savages; Buckley alone had continued for more than thirty years to live as a savage amongst the savages, admired by them for his Herculean proportions. He had nearly lost his native tongue, and was some time before he recovered it. Little of interest connected with his story or the habits and ideas of the natives could be drawn from him. He had a wife, or wives, and children, was greased and red ochred like his adopted countrymen, but at length abandoned them, and went over to Tasmania, where he married an English woman, and was made constable and foreman of the Government Female Penitentiary. Professed descendants of his amongst the Port Phillip blacks continued to boast their parentage.

THE FATE OF GELLIBRAND AND HESSE.

Mr. Joseph Tice Gellibrand, whom we have seen so enthusiastic in the projection of the colony of Port Phillip, had, as we have remarked, cast his eyes on a brilliant land of promise westward of Geelong, and, with his usual ardour, was bent on exploring it. In 1837 he crossed the straits from Tasmania to Port Phillip, accompanied by his friend Mr. Hesse, like himself a lawyer, and a successful and esteemed one in that island. After

remaining a short time in Melbourne, they proceeded to Geelong, and there decided on paying a visit to a worthy old shipmaster from Van Diemen's Land, Captain Pollock, whose sheep-station was situated on the Burwan river, about eleven miles from the Bay of Corio. Having rested and refreshed themselves and horses for a night at his hospitable homestead, and being desirous of exploring the country still higher up the river, they departed thence at an early hour the next morning, in company with a guide, named Robert Acres, who was then shepherding at the above station. The travellers, who had been at Geelong for a few days, were now on their return to Melbourne, which was fifty-eight miles from Captain Pollock's station. They proposed to visit Cowie and Steads' station on the Moorabool, to pass the night there, and to reach Melbourne the next day. With the prospect of a short day's journey before them, they took only a few ship biscuits in their pockets.

After travelling along the open plain country on the northern banks of the Burwan for about fifteen miles, the guide refused to proceed any further in that direction, observing that beyond his master's station there was not an inch of country occupied, and that they were destitute of provisions. At this declaration of the guide, Mr. Gellibrand expressed his wonder, pointing out the Mount of the Warrians at Lake Corangamyte, and declared it to be Station Peak. This astonished the guide, who showed him the real Station Peak exactly in the opposite direction. Mr. Gellibrand had been going direct west when he meant to have gone east; but his natural enthusiasm now had risen to a pitch of what amounted to nothing short of infatuation. In vain the guide protested and showed him that the two hills were fifty miles apart. The guide, who knew his position very well, entreated him only to ride to two little hills in the plain, and that he would not only show him Station Peak but the Bay of Geelong below, so situated as to settle the question. Mr. Hesse said this was most reasonable on the part of Acres, and pressed Gellibrand

to comply, especially as the decision could be so soon made; but Gellibrand, who seemed doomed, vehemently declared himself right and the guide wrong, and telling Hesse he could follow the guide if he liked, rode off westward. Before he went, however, he upbraided Acres with his cowardice, and offered him his last biscuit, because, he said, he would be sure to want it. The shepherd afterwards told Mr. Lloyd that, when he saw the poor mistaken gentleman riding away, he could scarcely believe his eyes, and warned him earnestly of his danger. Mr. Hesse, though with an ominous feeling of approaching evil, would not desert his friend, but rode after him, and that was the last that was ever seen of them.

Mr. Lloyd states, in his "Thirty-three Years in Tasmania and Victoria," that he was at Pollock's station shortly after the disappearance of these two unfortunate men, and found Captain Pollock, Mr. Thomas Armytage, Buckley, the giant companion of the Yarra-Yarra natives, and Acres, in a state of gloom on their account, nothing having been heard of them for ten days. They were preparing to set out in search of them. They were soon equipped and mounted, and Acres first led them to the spot where they had ridden away from him. The marks of their horses' feet were plainly still visible, and the party traced them for three days along the upward course of the Burwan. They were then lost in thick scrub and fern-tree valleys. Through these, however, they continued to force their way, firing off their guns, and making the dark, thick bush and glens resound, at frequent intervals, with the shrill, piercing cooée. They ascended the pinnacles of the highest hills which they met with, and there made fires to attract the notice of the wanderers, but all in vain.

The baffled party then returned to Rickett's Marsh, and thence set out to the Warrian Hills, which had seized on Gellibrand's attention, but it was now with very little hope. They explored both these hills and the surrounding country carefully for seven successive days, but to no

purpose; and on the 10th day, they returned to Pollock's Station. Mr. Lloyd concludes this sad account by the following facts:—

"Anxious, if possible, to ascertain the fate of her husband and his faithful friend, Mr. Hesse, Mrs. Gellibrand dispatched another party from Hobart Town, but they also returned, after a three weeks' unavailing search. About four years after the melancholy loss of the travellers, by a singular coincidence, the skulls of two Europeans, together with fragments of clothing and pieces of a broken watch, were discovered (if I remember aright) within twenty or thirty miles of Port Fairy, by Mr. Allan, a stock-holder. The skulls, from their similarity to the heads of the lost gentlemen in many important particulars, combined with the air of truthfulness attending the following statement of the natives, left no room for doubt as to their identity.

"Two white men on foot, in a dreadful state of exhaustion, had come tottering up to their miams-miams, late one evening, and in imploring attitudes and with various signs, told them they had travelled a long way, and that they were very ill and starving. The natives, who had been in communication with the whalers of Port Fairy, assisted them to their fire, and endeavoured to administer to their wants by giving them some black fish to eat. The stouter man, Mr. Gellibrand, was described as having partaken thereof; but the other was far too weak and exhausted either to eat, speak, or (once down) to raise himself up from his recumbent position. Notwithstanding the kindness and attention of the good sable Samaritans, the unfortunate travellers never rallied.

"From the natives' account, it would appear that one, 'the darkest,' which must have been poor Mr. Hesse, expired on the second day; and the other, Mr. Gellibrand, on the third day after their arrival at the camp of the aborigines. Mr. Lloyd gives to both these unfortunate gentlemen a high character for their amiability, virtues, and usefulness. In memory of them, the two

little hills to which Acres directed their attention before they left him, have been called Mounts Gellibrand and Hesse."

The further exploration of Victoria will be found in the expeditions of Hovell and Hume, of Sir Thomas Mitchell, and of M'Millan and Count Strzelecki. The great breadth of the country, however, was opened by the squatters in search of stations. Of this kind was the discovery of Gippsland by Mr. M'Millan, overseer of the Messrs. M'Allister of New South Wales, in 1840. M'Millan entered this fine province, lying between the Snowy Mountains and the sea, in January of that year; and his letter to his employers announcing his magnificent discovery, was dated in February. Count Strzelecki is stated by Dr. Lang, the historian of Phillip's Land, to have heard of M'Millan's journey, and to have got upon his track. One thing, he says, is certain, that M'Millan announced his discovery before Count Strzelecki had entered the country. This is quite true, and is pointed out distinctly by the Count himself. I have nowhere found an account of the exact particulars of Mr. M'Millan's journey or how far he went; but Count Strzelecki, in his report of his exploration of Gippsland, printed in the Parliamentary Return of March 9th, 1841, of the progressive discovery and occupation of the colony during the administration of Sir George Gipps, now before me, says that Messrs. Buckler and M'Allister, who had cattle stations on the River Thomson, near the eastern border of Gippsland, were "the first pioneers into Gippsland." In this case, the honour is given to the master instead of the man, as so often is the case; but there is no attempt by Count Strzelecki to claim that honour for himself. The Count was engaged on his great work, the "Physical Description of New South Wales, Victoria, and Van Diemen's Land," which is a grand storehouse of the geognostic, geologic, and geographic statistics of those colonies—a work which has yet been equalled, on the same ground, by no Englishman. In the progress of this gigantic labour, he had arrived at

Yass' Plains in February, 1840. This was at the very time that Mr. M'Millan, from the station of the Messrs. M'Allister, was penetrating in wonder at such a noble country of mountains, and rich uplands, and richer plains, into Gippsland. The Count, attended by a small party of men and horses, meantime had arrived on the banks of the Murrumbidgee, and was directing his course into the heart of the great Snowy Mountains. "As far as the borders of the Murrumbidgee River, the New South Wales survey," says the Count, "assisted me much as to the course of this range; and the researches carried on during a pedestrian zig-zag ramble of 2200 miles, had put me into possession of all the requisite geognostic and mineralogical materials—all the altitudes and vertical sections which were needed for the contemplated geographical map of Australia.

"From the Murrumbidgee, however, there still remained for me to wind my course through a country unsurveyed, uninhabited, in a great measure unknown, untrodden even by the foot of a white man. A survey, therefore, became indispensable to the main object in view—a survey of the predominant characteristic features of the country, partly trigonometrical, partly astronomically ascertained and laid down on the chart, together with such meteorological and mineralogical observations as seemed naturally to belong to it."—(P. 11.)

In carrying out this plan, Count Strzelecki crossed the Murrumbidgee at the junction of the Dumut or Tumut, and pursued its left bank to Gundagai, where he crossed to the right and advanced into the hills, crossing various tributaries of the Murrumbidgee—as the Aidelong, Nakie-nakie, Yeven-yeven, Tarmota, and Auburn Creeks. He found Mr. P. King, the son of Captain Peter Parker King, the celebrated navigator of the Australian coasts, squatting there; and he had made an accurate survey of about 1000 square miles of the Murrumbidgee country, ascertaining the source of the Dumut, and rendering probable that of the Murrumbidgee. This survey greatly facilitated the Count's progress. Between

the Murrumbidgee and Mane's Range he found, by barometrical observations and the trigonometrical surveys of Mr. King, the heights of the different hills above the level of the sea to vary from 2500 to 3000 feet, the valleys themselves varying from 1200 to 1800 feet. The primary and transition rocks he found somewhat intermingled. Amongst the first were mica, schist, gneiss, protogine; amongst the latter, sienitic porphyry and grau-wacke. Above these lay deep rich soil, forming ranges and valleys, admirably adapted for both the pasture of cattle and the growth of grain.

Having crossed the Mane's Range, he approached the highest regions of the Australian Alps. His impressions of this striking region are best conveyed in his own words:—

"The country which, farther on, stretches itself to latitude 37°, and which is limited to N. and S. by the Mane's and Ajut Ranges, offers, from its extent and from having the highest protuberances of New South Wales, a wider and more interesting field to investigation and comment. On entering it from the Mane's Range, through Mount Aiken, every feature of that division seems to bear the stamp of foreign grandeur. The broken country to the westward, in which the Tingilla Creek takes its rise; to the eastward, the dividing range, here called the Australian Alps, with its stupendous peaks and domes; and in front, the beautiful valley which the Murray so beautifully waters, unite to form attractions for the explorer of no ordinary kind. I followed the windings of that valley for about seventy miles to the foot of the highest protuberances of the Australian Alps, which it was my object to ascend and examine. The steepness of the numberless ridges, intersected by gullies and torrents, rendered this ascent a matter of no small difficulty, which was not a little increased by the weight of the instruments, which, for safety, I carried on my back. Once on the crest of the range, the remainder of the ascent to its highest pinnacle was accomplished with comparative ease. On the 15th of February, about

noon, I found myself on an elevation of 6510 feet above the level of the sea, seated in perpetual snow, a lucid sky above me, and below an uninterrupted view over more than 7000 square miles. The pinnacle, rocky and naked, predominant over several others, elevations of the same mountain, was, and always will be, chosen for an important point of trigonometrical survey. Clear and standing by itself, it affords a most advantageous position for overlooking the intricacies of the mountain country around. The eye wanders to the Three Brothers, or Tintern; hence to the sources of the Dumut and the Murrumbidgee; discovers with ease the windings of the Murray, the course of the dividing range, the summits of Mounts Aberdeen and Buller, and is seduced even beyond the required limits of a survey.

"The particular configuration of this eminence struck me so forcibly by the similarity it bears to a tumulus erected at Cracow over the tomb of the patriot Kosciusko, that although in a foreign country, on foreign ground, but amongst a free people, who appreciate freedom and its votaries, I could not refrain from giving it the name of Mount Kosciusko. It is from the view of the adjacent country which I obtained from Mount Kosciusko, that the source of the Murray was ascertained, its tributaries traced, the direction of my further progress to the south, and further survey decided upon. My steps were consequently retraced to Cowrang Creek, along which I wound my way till near its source. Here the squatter's stations ceased, and the tracks of man were at an end. The track, now first trodden by me, passing through subordinate, rocky, and dry ranges, brought me unexpectedly on the so-called Lake Omeo, and will, perhaps, serve to open future communications between the Murray and the extensive Omeo country. The existence of this lake was previously known, but its situation not ascertained. I found it, like Lake George and Lake Bathurst, preserving only the basin-shape of a lake, with scanty water and rich pasture. Amongst the eminences of its interesting neighbourhood, which I ascended in the

course of my geognostic explorations, I chose Mount Tombo, predominant on an extensive tract of country, as a point to connect the links of the survey; both this point and the position of Omeo were fixed on the chart, by trigonometrical longitude and latitude observations. What is marked out, however, as the source of the Mitta-Mitta, the splendid tributary of the Murray, the delineation of its valleys, that of the Mount Ajut Range, the formidable barrier which separates the tributaries of the Murray from those of the Ovens River, were rather sketched than surveyed.

"The relative attitudes of the most important points of that division, as determined by the barometer, facilitating the splitting and opening as it were, of the country in all directions, by vertical sections, disclosed in the delineation of the profile some interesting features of its superficial configuration. The diagram, for instance, leading in a direct line S.W., from Mount Kosciusko, shows a protuberance of 6510 feet, reduced at three miles distance to 1223, the bottom of the Murray from thence attaining in ten miles an elevation of 4100 feet; Mount Pinnabar descending again eight miles further to 1350, Cowrang Creek here rising abruptly to 3800, the dividing space of Omeo country and the Murray falling to 1850 feet, bottom of the source of Mitta-Mitta ascending again through minor ridges to the elevation of 3100 feet, which is that of the flat of Omeo Lake, and falling finally to 1900 feet, the bottom of the second branch of Mitta-Mitta. The diagram proves at once the analogy which the Lake Omeo bears to Lake Bathurst, Lake George, and Lake Barraburra, all destitute of springs and feeders, all above the level of the adjacent rivers, and by their shape assimilating rather to drained reservoirs than to the natural basins of lakes."—P. 11.

The Count gives us various particulars of the geognostic and mineral features of the district; notes argillite and quartz rock, and various indications of simple minerals and ores, indicative of such being buried beneath, but hardly, he thinks, worthy the trouble of seek-

ing for. In this, however, time and more deliberate research have shown that he was far from correct. The numberless streams of lava, the trachyte rocks and others, which through intense heat had had some of their constituent ingredients altered, he thought gave evident proofs of volcanic agency, to which Lake Omeo may have originally served as the laboratory. His opinion was, that the most inexhaustible treasures of the country lay in the richness of its soil, the decomposed matter of argillaceous and calcareous rocks, mixed with sediments of vegetable matter. "For pasture, grazing, and agriculture, the valley of the Murray, with those adjacent, and the country round Omeo, offer the most suitable spots. The Murray with its tributaries, the Mitta-Mitta with its own, supply both the valleys and Omeo with plentiful streams of water; everywhere nature seems to have most liberally enriched this part for the benefit of man."

At seventeen miles beyond Omeo to the S.S.E., he found the crossing of the dividing range, where "began the third division of this mountain land, which the meridian 148° limits from the N.E.; the sea coast and the dividing range from E. and W.; Corner Inlet and Western Port from the S. and S.W.; a division which, on account of its extensive riches as a pastoral country, its open forests, its inland navigations, rivers, timber, climate, proximity to the sea coast, probable outlets, and more than probable boat and small-craft harbours, its easy land communication, the neighbourhood of Corner Inlet and Western Port, the gradual elevation—more hilly than mountainous, and, finally, on account of its cheering prospects to future settlers, which this country holds out, and which," says the Count, "it was my lot to explore, I took the liberty of naming, in honour of his Excellency the Governor, Gippsland."

On the sources of the river Thomson, the Count found the stations of Messrs. Buckler and M'Allister, and there, no doubt, he learned that some of their families had entered, and found this new Gippsland a splendid

country, and that Mr. M'Millan, the overseer of Mr. M'Allister, had proceeded a considerable way into it. The Count determined to make a thorough examination of it. He followed down the Thomson for seventy miles, from Buckler's Station, where it emptied itself into a large oblong lagoon 100 feet broad, which in its turn joined a fine lake, bordering on the sea coast. Following the course of the lagoon, he came to a second, of the same width and form, and thence to a third, larger than either. A clear river ran into its head from the mountains. The lake near these he traced for fifteen miles, and named it Lake King, after Captain P. P. King; and the river flowing into the estuary, he named after Mr. Deas Thomson, Colonial Secretary of New South Wales. Two other rivers flowing into the lake, he named the Riley and M'Arthur.

He now struck right through the heart of this new land, crossing continually fresh rivers as they ran from the mountains to the sea. His course was S.W. by W. At thirty-five miles he came to the fourth river; at twelve miles farther to a fifth; at four more to a sixth, the largest of the three, which received the two former. These he named, after different officers and gentlemen, the Perry, Dunlop, and Barney; and the extensive plains on the Barney, the Barney Plains. "These rivers," he says, "rising in the dividing range, plentifully supplied with water, having a gravelly bottom, accessible banks, and in the shallowest places an average of about three feet water, when taken with a view of the mountains, the Gisborne and others bordering the distant horizon to the N.W., the fine, undulating, and pastoral, hilly country on the foreground, the two level plains, the coast range of open forest, which to the S.E. of these plains begins to emerge, offer, perhaps, the most picturesque, and the richest spot of Gippsland."

After more fine, open forest country, the hills began to intercept his way, and the willow scrub, with which he found a seventh river fringed, finally stopped it. Managing, after two days' hard work, to cross these

hills, he came to the eighth and largest river of all, which he called La Trobe, after the then Superintendent of Victoria, Charles Joseph La Trobe. The seventh river he named after Captain Maconochie. From this point they found themselves compelled to direct their course towards Western Port, through a difficult, scrubby country, and over a dividing range. For twenty-two days, having been compelled to abandon their six horses, which were quite worn out, and their packs, the equally exhausted men, on rations of one biscuit and a slice of bacon per day, struggled on, after five weeks of previous half allowance. They reached that place in a miserable condition, where they recruited themselves, and proceeded to Melbourne. This latter part of the country the Count pronounces the finest country for blue-gum and black butt in the colony.

Thus was opened up Gippsland, one of the richest pastoral, and at the same time most picturesque provinces of Victoria.

Mr. Tyers, the colonial surveyor, who was at the time employed on a careful survey of the colony, from Port Phillip to the Glenelg, afterwards as superintendent of the province, found a break in the ranges, to the eastward of Western Point, which the Count had missed, and which enabled him to run his highroad into this region.

In 1841, Mr. Orr traversed Gippsland. He sailed with a friend in the bark Singapore, from Melbourne to Corner Inlet, in February. They discovered the river Albert, and recommended that a town should be built there, and called Alberton. They travelled along the bank of a river, which they called the Terra, after their native guide; then followed a blazed line leading N.E., crossed the river La Trobe, of Strzelecki; saw from a hill the vast and fertile plain forming the interior of Gippsland. Thence they followed the La Trobe due W., through rich plains and reedy swamps. Still proceeding N.W., they came to the river Maconochie, a much smaller stream than the La Trobe, and had a full view of the

Snowy Mountains. On the 28th of March, they crossed the Barney and Dunlop Rivers, and the next day they came on a lake stretching almost twenty miles from E. to W., and six miles broad, which received the waters of all the rivers already mentioned. They named this lake the Wellington. Wilson's Promontory was visible from the Wellington, lying S. W. ½ S., about fifty miles from the western extremity of the lake. Regaining the La Trobe, and crossing another river which they called the Kirsopp, they then made their way westward for more than thirty miles through dense brushwood, to Mr. Turnbull's Station, near Western Point. They described the country as generally well watered; the banks of the rivers lined with the finest timber of every kind found in the colony, and the intervening land, either gently undulating or quite level, having a rich alluvial soil, formed by the deposits of the numerous rivers which descend from the Snowy Mountains. Throughout the whole of Gippsland, "scarcely a rock was to be seen."

The name of Count Strzelecki will remain honourably connected with Australia, by his exploration of Gippsland, but still more by his elaborate work "Physical Description of New South Wales," or rather of New South Wales, Victoria, and Van Diemen's Land, which is a grand storehouse of geologic and natural history statistics. In this, you have a list of all the elevations of all the mountains, lakes, rivers, plains, and stations of Australia, above the level of the sea. He tells us, that Sir Joseph Banks himself discovered 1000 species of Australian plants; that "Brown's Flora Australis" contains 4000, and that up to the time of publication of the Count's work, 1845, they amounted to 6000 species. Since then, by the labour of Dr. Müller and others, they must have become greatly more numerous. Up to the same date, the Count tells us, that the number of sheep had increased to 9,000,000.

Another fact, which the Count assures us was based on fourteen years' travels amongst and experience of the aborigines, has not borne so fully the test of inquiry. He asserts that one cause of the rapid extinction of the natives in Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, is the fact, that no native woman who has had a child by a white, can afterwards produce one by a male of her own race. Hundreds of instances of this extraordinary fact, he says, are on record in his memoranda. Mr. George Augustus Robinson, formerly Chief Protector of the Aborigines in Victoria, and the celebrated manager of the evacuation of Van Diemen's Land by the blacks, has, however, recently shown by facts in his own twenty years' experience, that this assertion requires modification. In his statement in "The British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review," for January, 1865, he shows that the native women whom he removed from islands in Bass's Straits to Flinders' Islands, had had children by the European sealers there, and had afterwards children by men of their own race. Mr. Robinson adds various express instances of the fallacy of this doctrine exhibited in women well known to him in 1841, 2, 5, and other years; in one case *twins* being born under the circumstances said by the Count to be utterly prohibitory of such a fact. The truth probably is, that the cause mentioned by the Count operates largely, but by no means wholly, in decreasing the prolificness of the blacks.

CHAPTER XXI.

VOYAGES OF CAPTAINS WICKHAM, FITZROY, AND STOKES, IN THE BEAGLE, ROUND THE AUSTRALIAN COASTS, FROM 1837 TO 1843.

History of the Beagle.—Captain Fitzroy in New Zealand.—Mr. Charles Darwin with him on board the Beagle.—Touched at Sydney.—Captain Wickham.—Ordered to survey the coasts of Australia and Van Diemen's Land.—The party.—Death of Mr. Musters.—Swan River settlement.—Surveys northward.—Discovery of Fitzroy River.—Doubtful Bay.—Port George IV.—Fall in with Lieutenant Grey and his party.—Van Diemen's Land, Sydney.—Port Essington in 1839.—Surveys of islands in Torres Straits.—"The Post Office."—State of affairs at Port Essington and Raffles Bay.—Monster eagle nest.—Discovery of the River Adelaide.—Attack of savages.—Timor Laut.—Discovery of the fate of the Charles Eaton and its crew.—Subsequent rescue of Ireland and D'Oyly from the island savages.—Rescue of Forbes.—Discovery of Port Darwin.—Also of the Victoria River.—Progress up it.—Much good country on Swan River.—Discovery of remains of the wreck of the Batavia.—Pelsart's Group.—Native drawings at Depuch Island.—Sailed to Timor.—VOYAGE IN 1841: Exploration of the Gulf of Carpentaria.—The Flinders.—Discover the Albert.—Its scenery.—The Plains of Promise.—Discoveries and services of Captain Stokes.

THE Beagle was one of the most famous little ships that ever was employed in the service of science and discovery. In this service, she was employed from the year 1826 to 1843—seventeen years. She was, says Captain Lort Stokes, one of those 10-gun brigs called coffins, but turned out one of the most remarkable vessels in the annals of maritime research. She commenced her famous career by being the first rigged man-of-war that ever passed under London Bridge, which she did to salute at the coronation of George IV. In that same year, she was engaged to attend Captain Philip Parker King in a voyage of scientific inquiry round the world. The Beagle, in her first voyage, left Plymouth on the 22nd of May, 1826, and according to the instructions from the Board of Admiralty, after having, in company with the Adventure, spent the intervening time on the coasts of South America, returned to England in October, 1830. During this voyage, she was commanded by Captain Pringle Stokes, till August, 1828, when in a fit of in-

sanity, brought on by severe exertion in a cruise on the coast of Patagonia, he destroyed himself, at Port Famine, in Magellan's Straits. On arriving at Rio Janeiro, in October of that year, Captain Robert Fitzroy took the command. On arrival in England in October, 1830, the Adventure was paid off and put out of commission; and the Beagle, commanded by Captain Fitzroy, made her second voyage alone. This commenced on the 4th of July, 1831; included in its researches the coasts of South America, both on the Atlantic and Pacific; the Falkland Islands, the Islands of the Pacific, New Zealand, and the south of Australia. The visits to the Bay of Islands in New Zealand, and the touching at Van Diemen's Land and King George's Sound, which occurred towards the end of this great voyage in 1835, were mere passing calls, and added nothing to discovery. During this second voyage of the Beagle, Mr. Charles Darwin, a grandson of Dr. Darwin, and now universally known as the author of the theory of "The Origin of Species," was on board as an independent inquirer into geology and other natural science. He has himself published the result of his observations during the voyage in his "Naturalist's Voyage round the World," "Researches into Natural History and Geology," "Formation of Coral Rocks," "Geologic Observations on Volcanic Islands," "Geologic Observations on South America," &c.; and both he and Captain Fitzroy have given us lively accounts of the progress of civilised settlement in New Zealand, the farms and labours of the missionaries, and the progress of the natives. An idea is given of the commercial effect produced by the discoveries of Tasman and Cook, by the facts stated of the French, Russian, American, and English traffic in the Pacific of late years. Under the colours of the United States and of our own country, more than five hundred sail of vessels had annually been employed for some years in the Pacific, at the time of the Beagle's visit.

In the Bay of Islands and in Kororarika Harbour, and not far from where Marion's boat's crew had been mas-

sacred and devoured, the first settlement of white men had been made at Tipuna, or Rangihoua; and not only were there pleasant houses and fine farms of the white settlers, but the canoes of the natives were hourly going to and fro with cargoes of firewood, potatoes, yams, pigs, &c., showing that they had fully learned the advantages of cultivation and trade. Yet the devil had taken care to have his share of the business; and the establishment of spirit shops was doing its deadly and demoralizing work. But, adds Captain Fitzroy, "settlements of a different character are elsewhere springing up, and the establishments of individuals are increasing in North New Zealand, at Otaheite, and in the Sandwich Islands. Between these establishments small vessels are always in motion; and not trifling is the trade in cocoa-nut oil, arrow-root, and sugar between Otaheite and Sydney; in flax, potatoes, spars, and whale oil between New Zealand and Sydney; in sandal-wood, bicho-do-mar, nut-oil, pearl-oyster shells, and curiosities—such as native arms, implements, and clothing—between other islands and Australia, Tasmania, the East Indies, China, and South America."

The Beagle completed her second voyage, and returned to Woolwich in November, 1836. They are the subsequent voyages of the Beagle, from 1837 to 1843, which now come under our notice. Captain Wickham, formerly lieutenant in the Adventure under Captain King, and afterwards in the Beagle under Captain Fitzroy, was appointed to the command in this third voyage, and on his health failing, was succeeded by Captain Lort Stokes, who had commenced his career in the Beagle, as midshipman, and served in her ever since in all her wanderings. To him we are indebted for the account of this last great voyage, or rather voyages.

The objects of the voyage, as set forth in the Admiralty instructions, were these. Notwithstanding the labours of Flinders and King, there were various portions of the Australian coasts which required a more exact examination as regarded reefs, tides, shoals, and general

bearings, as necessary to secure navigation on these shores, and also as regarded the search for rivers, which were believed to exist, but which had not yet been found. After some observations to be made on the way, they were to proceed to Swan River, and there land Lieutenants Grey and Lushington, who were going out to attempt inland discovery from that point. They were then to proceed to the neighbourhood of Dampier's Land, and make a thorough examination of Roebuck and Cygnet Bays; to ascertain whether Dampier's Land was an island. They were then to complete the examination of Sharks' Bay and Exmouth Gulf; and after procuring the necessary supply of provisions at Timor Laut, to sail to Van Diemen's Land, and make a fresh survey of Bass's Straits, they being reported still dangerous from insufficient examination of rocks, shoals, and tides. After repairing to Sydney for fresh supplies, they were to proceed to Torres Straits, and examine the whole space between Cape York and New Guinea; to verify the safety of Endeavour Strait; and examine the three groups of York, Prince of Wales', and Banks's Islands.

They were not on this first voyage to extend their labours to the 143rd degree of longitude, as the survey to the eastward, and that of the great Barrier Reef off the eastern coast of Australia, were to be subsequent enterprises, which, however fell to the lot of Lieutenant, then become Commander, Lort Stokes. They were now, rather to direct their notice towards the shores of New Guinea, and to discover whether the Dutch had made any settlements there. They were also to visit and notice the condition of a new British settlement, then about to be formed at Port Essington.

It will be seen that all these enquiries and labours must occupy some years, and accordingly, though the Beagle now left England on the 9th of June, 1837, she did not return thither till October, 1843. At setting out, the crew of the Beagle consisted of:—

John Clements Wickham, Commander and Surveyor.

James B. Emery, Lieutenant.
Henry Eden, Lieutenant.
John Lort Stokes, Lieutenant and Assistant Surveyor.
Alexander B. Usborne, Master.
Benjamin Bynoe, Surgeon.
Thomas Tait, Assistant Surgeon.
John E. Dring, Clerk in charge.
Benjamin F. Helpman, Mate.
Auchmuty T. Freeze, Mate.
Thomas T. Birch, Mate.
L. R. Fitzmaurice, Mate.
William Tarrant, Master's Assistant.
Charles Keys, Clerk.
Thomas Sorrell, Boatswain.
John Weekes, Carpenter.
A Corporal of Marines and seven privates, with forty seamen and boys.

During the six years' voyage, the following changes took place :—Mr. Usborne, being severely injured by an accident in May, 1839, invalided; Mr. Birch, in 1839, exchanged with Mr. Pasco into the Britomart; Mr. Freeze, in 1830, exchanged with Mr. Forsyth into the Pelorus; Mr. Helpman left in 1840, to join the Colonial Service in Western Australia; to Mr. Usborne succeeded C. J. Parker, in 1840; Lieutenants Emery and Eden returned to England in 1841; in the same year Captain Wickham invalided, and Lieutenant Stokes succeeded to the command; in 1841 Lieutenant Graham Gore succeeded Lieutenant Emery.

As a great part of the services of the Beagle, though extremely valuable, as furnishing more exact knowledge of the bays and coasts of Australia, are more important to the safety of navigators than of interest to the general reader, these will, necessarily, be briefly passed over here, and an attention devoted to the points of real geographical discovery, of which this voyage contains some considerable ones. The historian throughout is Captain Lort Stokes, a gentlemen of great evident piety of mind, and of the genuinely enthusiastic temperament of a dis-

coverer, the prospect of every new opening into a country, however barren or otherwise unattractive, filling him with a perfect boy's delight. On the way out he indulged his feelings of friendship by visiting at Bahia the grave of Midshipman Masters, the son of Byron's Mary Chaworth, who died there on the former voyage, in May, 1832. At the Cape of Good Hope, Lieutenant Grey, whom they were to have taken on to Swan River, finding that he should not be able to obtain a proper vessel at that port to carry him to Hanover Bay, on the north-west coast of Australia, hired a schooner from the Cape. His adventures we shall soon have to narrate.

On the 15th of November they reached Rottenest Island, Swan River, whence they sailed up to Freemantle, the seaport of the settlement at the entrance of the river. They were detained there and at Perth, the capital, by the illness of Captain Wickham, till the 4th of January, 1838, the settlement, which was founded in 1829, under Captain Stirling, the first lieutenant-governor, being consequently then only about eight years old. On the 17th of January they landed at Cape Villaret; the heat was intense; and Mr. Usborne was dangerously wounded by the accidental explosion of a musket, the ball passing between the lower rib and hip-bone, and disabling him for further service. Thus disastrously terminated their examination of Roebuck Bay.

From Roebuck Bay they proceeded without any discovery of importance to King's Sound, where they discovered Fitzroy River, which they traced up 90 miles from the coast line, but only 22 miles from its entrance into the bay At its entrance it was a mere mud flat, when the tide was out, of three miles wide. The tide rose and fell with great violence. Advancing two miles, the river suddenly contracted from three miles in width to one. The country all around was a dreary plain covered with strange wiry grass, and intersected by narrow watercourses. Here and there stood a solitary tree, and a few emus and bronze-winged pigeons gave it a little air of life. Further on they found deeper and

fresh water, and the country covered with eucalyptus woods. Ever and anon the river presented shallows, and soon showed all the features of an Australian river, resembling a chain of ponds rather than a continuous stream, lying between deep banks. From the top of a tree the country still presented one great level covered with woods, the principal trees being the eucalypti, acacias, banksias, casuarinas, and a singular tree with a short, swollen-looking stem, which they called the gouty-stem tree; there were also two species of palms.

In exploring the sound, they discovered and named, Point Torment, so called on account of the fierce musquitoes, Stokes Bay, Point Usborne, and Cove Bay. Here the coast trended towards Collier's Bay, they named one of the islands seen by Captain King, Bathurst Island. Both on the river and coasts they fell in with a few natives. In Collier's Bay they saw and named Doubtful Bay. Near Port George the Fourth, and Brecknock Harbour, they had a view of a fine and fertile country. Here, too, they were joined by Lieutenant Grey, who had discovered the Glenelg river, which falls into Doubtful Bay, and the same fertile country of which they had a view. He had suffered dreadful hardships, the particulars of which we shall learn from his own narrative. A finer port than this of George the Fourth, Captain Stokes reports is not readily to be found.

The Beagle now returned to Swan River, and Sydney, by Van Diemen's Land, continuing the observations for which it was sent out, but adding little to discovery. On the 22nd of May, 1839, they sailed from Sydney for Port Essington. As they proceeded northward they made a careful examination of the great Barrier Reef, and added many valuable corrections to our knowledge of it, as well as to different shoals off the eastern coast. Before entering Torres Straits they touched at Boydan Island, one of the Murray group, on which the Indiaman, Charles Eaton, had been wrecked, and some of the crew massacred, of which more hereafter. In Torres Straits

they called at Booby Island to visit the "Post Office." This was a flag-staff, and by it a large box, on which was painted in large letters, the words "Post Office." In this chest, which was placed there by Captain Hobson, of H. M. S. Rattlesnake, in 1835, was found a book with printed forms, which every ship in passing could fill up, giving their names, destination, time of visit, and other particulars. Hence Booby Island has become known to all sea-farers as the "Post Office," as one of the Galipagos Isles is to the whalers by a like institution. From this book the Beagle learned that the Port Essington Expedition had passed there eight months before; and that the schooner Essington, which preceded the expedition, had visited Boydan Island, and ascertained the non-existence of one of the young D'Oyleys, supposed to have been left upon it with the natives.

The harbour of Port Essington they found a most spacious and excellent one, capable of holding the largest possible fleet, and adapted to shelter thoroughly all distressed vessels. Another advantage was that wood—teak and oak, says Captain Stokes, no doubt she-oak, were found in the neighbourhood. But the settlement itself was but a poor affair, by no means of a strength likely to contend with first difficulties in so remote a spot, and to strike firm roots in the soil. The name of Victoria had been ambitiously given to the projected colony, but the colony itself consisted but of a handful of military, inhabiting a few cottages in a jetty sixteen miles from the mouth of the harbour. A few Malays had also come and erected huts there; but there were wanting the rough and active British labourers in abundance, to build docks and make roads; to fence out fields, and open up the woods for flocks and herds. It was hoped that Chinese and Malays would come out in numbers, and so commence the cultivation of cotton, coffee, and spices. True, the expedition under Sir Gordon Bremer had only arrived in October of the preceding year; but the settlers had been already several times attacked by fever, with fatal results, and had

a yellow and languid look. The land was low, and little calculated for agriculture, though it was deemed suitable for the growth of rice, cotton, indigo, &c. The whole live stock of the colony at this time consisted of an English cow and bull, two Indian heifers and two cows, fifty goats, six working oxen, thirty buffaloes, six pigs, a few fowls, five ponies, and thirty half-greyhounds for catching kangaroos. Captain Stokes recommended a fence to be made across the neck of the peninsula, which was only three miles wide, by which means the buffaloes and other cattle would be kept from wandering into the boundless forest, and thus become the prey of the natives. These facts could inspire no great hopes of prosperity, and none ever followed. The military settlers lounged about and grew out of health, from sheer want of something to do: the feeble attempt at colonization dragged on for a time, and then was broken up. Had it been vigorously inaugurated, it might have become a great centre of commerce betwixt Australia, China, and the islands of the Indian Ocean. A branch settlement was planted at Raffles' Bay, which collapsed in a much shorter time, after the recall of its first commandant, the unfortunate Captain Barker, killed on Lake Alexandrina. Immediately after its arrival, two French vessels, the Astrolabe and Zelie, sailed in, and it was supposed that they had come thither with a similar view, but finding the English before them, they retired.

On the shores of the bay, Captain Stokes fell in with one of the great mounds, erected by a bird much less than a moor-fowl, and thence called the Mound-Bird the *Megapodius Tumulus* of Gould. Some of these bird-tumuli are thirty feet long, and eight high. They pile them up of earth, shells, &c., which they carry in one claw while hopping on the other. These mounds are for the purpose of depositing their eggs, which are disposed in layers, and covered, and left to hatch by the heat of the sun. Seldom more than two of the eggs are hatched, though a considerable number is laid there.

In exploring Clarence Straits betwixt Melville Island

and Adam Bay, Mr. Fitzmaurice had the good fortune to discover a large river, which they named the Adelaide. Captain Wickham, Lieutenant Emery, and Mr. Helpman, immediately set out in a boat to explore it. They found it running from the south-east, and they traced it eighty miles. It was running through a wearisome level. For thirty miles the upper part of the river water was fresh, while the banks were low, being not more than five feet above the level of the river; a circumstance favourable for irrigation and the cultivation of rice. Fifteen miles from the mouth they were fringed by the growth of mangroves, and higher up many of the points were thickly wooded, while on either side extended vast expanses of prairie, dotted here and there with islands of timber. Somewhat less than half way rose on both banks a thick jungle of bamboo, which in the fresh water rose to the height of from sixty to eighty feet. Between twenty and seventy miles from the mouth, the soil was of a light-coloured mould; thence, as far as they went, the banks consisted of coarse, gritty sandstone, and the country was gently undulated, slightly wooded, and, in some places, stony. The fires of natives were seen here and there, and a bird resembling a guinea-fowl was seen running about, supposed to be the *Leipoa ocellata* of Gould. Amongst the bamboos were swarms of vampyre-bats: the river abounded with alligators, and the wood-ducks, which perch upon trees, were numerous. The river had one or two salt-water branches.

Near the mouth of the river, on a sandy beach, Mr. Fitzmaurice and Mr. Keys had a narrow escape for their lives. They were making some observations on the compass, when suddenly, on a cliff above them, appeared a band of armed natives, who prepared to let fly their spears at them. In this emergency they happily thought of diverting the savages by dancing; and they danced for their lives, till a boat's crew, which had been alarmed by the shouts of the natives, came to their assistance. They had guns with them lying on the ground, but whenever the unlucky dancers stooped to take them up,

the savages, by their outcries, and by shaking their spears, compelled them to let them lie. In exploring the southern coast of Melville Island, they were compelled to another dance, by another kind of enemy—the green ants, which swarm on a particular species of tree, and sting those unmercifully who attempt to take shelter under it. Captain Cock, Leichhardt, and other travellers have recorded their attacks with a very lively memory.

From Port Essington, the Beagle put over to Timor Land, where Captain Stokes made a very interesting discovery regarding the fate of the Charles Eaton. On approaching the shore, two proas put off from a village, and an old man came on board. He presented to Captain Stokes a neat little basket containing some papers, which he seemed very anxious that he should examine; and great was his astonishment, on opening them, to find carefully rolled up in several envelopes, two pieces of lead pencil, part of a leaf of Norie's Navigation Tables, and some scraps of paper, on which, written in pencil, was a rough journal of the proceedings of the men who left the ill-fated Charles Eaton soon after she was wrecked in Torres Straits in one of her cutters, in which they reached this island; and after remaining for thirteen months, got to Amboyna in a trading proa, and thence to Batavia, where they gave the following account of their misfortunes to the President, Mr. D. W. Pietermaat.

The Charles Eaton sailed from Sydney on the 26th of July, 1834, and on the 15th of August, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, struck on a reef, called the Detached Reef, at the entrance to Torres Straits, and was wrecked. All the boats were knocked to pieces, except the largest cutter, in which five men got off. These five said they endeavoured in vain to get more of the people off the ship; but could not, and believed them to be all drowned. They steered for Timor, having thirty pounds of bread, a ham, and a four-gallon keg of water in the boat, but no compass. They managed to reach the village of Oli-

liet, in Timor Laut, in fifteen days. They were robbed, and about to be killed, when two chiefs, Lomba and Pabok, procured the sparing of their lives. They learnt that in a neighbouring settlement, called Laouran, there was another European belonging to a wrecked English brig, and that there had been also a boy, who was then dead. After remaining there for thirteen months, they had been allowed to depart in a trading proa, and, as already stated, reached Amboyna.

Afterwards, Captain Carr, of the ship Mangles, reported at Sydney, that he had seen two white persons amongst the natives of the Murray Islands, but had been unable to prevail on these natives to give them up. Captain C. M. Lewis was therefore dispatched from Sydney in the schooner Isabella, to look for and rescue them. They found a boy, Ireland, and a child, D'Oyley, the son of the captain of the vessel, alive, and purchased them of the natives. Ireland said that, after the wreck of the vessel, a number of passengers went off in a raft. The Captain, D'Oyley, his wife and two children—the youngest in the mother's arms, the master, the surgeon, and a few others, got on another raft. Ireland reported that he and his companions on their raft, landed on an island after floating two days and two nights up to their waists in water, when all were murdered by the natives, except himself and another boy, named Sexton. On the island they saw the two children of the Captain, and the ship's dog, Portland. The elder D'Oyley, George, told him that his father, mother, and all the rest, had been knocked on the head. The natives then separated, part taking Ireland and the infant D'Oyley with them; and these were the two saved by Captain Lewis. Of the fate of the elder boy, D'Oyley, and the boy Sexton, nothing seems to have been known. Ireland blamed Captain Carr, of the Mangles, for not bringing them away, declaring that he might have had them for an axe each, but that he seemed only anxious to procure tortoise-shell.

Captain Stokes found that the old man who gave him

the papers was the old chief Lomba himself, and that on going on shore, he saw Pabok too, then very old. Mr. Watson, of the schooner Essington, managed to rescue the man reported by Lomba to be at Laouran, whose name was Forbes. He had nearly assumed the aspect of a savage, but he stated that he was one of the crew of the ship Stedcombe, in the year 1823, the rest of whom were all massacred; so that he must have been there sixteen years.

In passing through Clarence Straits, they discovered Port Darwin. The country about it was a most thirsty-looking level, the low brush-wood upon it cracking and snapping as they walked through it, with the brittleness of glass, and ready for a single spark to kindle into a general conflagration. Still the white eucalyptus and the palm gave an air of greenness, and the air had an aromatic odour. They saw some natives better looking than usual, and having no front teeth knocked out. Others they saw on a raft. The natives whom they took from Swan River could not understand these natives.

Hence they proceeded south to Cambridge Gulf, and made there the grand discovery of Victoria River, and also a smaller one, called Fitzmaurice River from Mr. Fitzmaurice, the discoverer of it, at the south end of a range of hills called by them M'Adam Range, from one side of it looking like a M'Adamized road. Captains Wickham and Stokes explored the Victoria River. They entered the mouth of this stream between high rocky precipices, and found the water eight and ten fathoms. As they advanced the hills overlapped each other upon it, and the country looked barren and sandy, showing only a wiry grass and some few scattered gum-trees. As they proceeded the country improved. They passed some of the gouty-stemmed trees, and saw abundance of kangaroos. The Beagle itself was taken fifty miles up this river, and might have gone seven farther. On the banks of the river they gathered a strange kind of fruit, growing on a small and leafless tree; the fruit was of

the size of damascene plums, containing a large stone, and made a tolerable pie. They had a fight with a huge alligator, dragged him on shore, and dined on alligator steaks, which they pronounced not bad. In his stomach were found fourteen pounds of pebbles, some of them four inches in diameter, no doubt serving the same digestive purpose as gravel in birds' crops. Amongst the new birds which they saw, one repeatedly asked them to "Walk up."

Proceeding on foot further up the river, the heat was intense. It was in the early part of November, and the thermometer in the shade ranged from 97° to 112° in the day, and fell only to 90° at night. The river first ran east, and then southward. The farthest point which they reached on it was 140 miles from the sea. The country was undulating, well wooded, and the soil very superior to that about Port Essington. They named some plains near where they killed the alligator, Whirlwind Plains from seeing whirlwinds raising the dust in columns in various places at once. Other extensive ones higher up they named Emu Plains from the birds of that name seen there. The soil on Emu Plains they pronounced good, and these plains were lightly timbered with white gum-trees. At a reach, which they named Reach Hopeless, they observed a new species of Bombax growing, the silk cotton tree, bearing pods filled with a silky cotton. They named some hills inland Wickham Heights; and they saw one of the singular play-grounds of the Bower bird. As they fell down the river again, they noticed the dreary character of the country near the sea, covered with huge blocks of sandstone. The sea-channel leading to the river they named Queen's Channel. Some of the ranges on the Victoria reached 800 feet in height.

Removing to Point Pearce, while on shore making some observations, Captain Stokes was speared by some natives who suddenly appeared on a cliff behind him. The wound was in the shoulder, and he had a narrow escape for his life from these savages by the appearance

of Lieutenant Emery and a boat's crew, who had heard the shouts of the natives.

From the Victoria, a very important discovery, the Beagle returned to Swan River. On the 24th of December they saw several water-snakes, such as had been repeatedly seen before in these seas by earlier navigators. Thence they sailed to Houtman's Abrolhos, and on the way made a vain search for a shoal reported to the northward of Rottenest Island. At the Abrolhos they sought in vain for the Turtle-dove Reef; but on St. Paul's Island they saw the beams of a large vessel where the Zeewyk had in 1728 reported a wrecked vessel, and, therefore, they had little doubt but that these belonged to the Batavia, the ship of Commodore Pelsart, lost in 1627. They, therefore, named this group of the Abrolhos Islands, the Pelsart Group. On an island at the northwest extremity of Pelsart's Group, they made another very interesting discovery, namely, of a small brass four-pounder cannon, of a singular construction, having a moveable chamber, which is now deposited in the United Service Museum; also a number of glass bottles and pipes of Dutch shape, and two Dutch doits of the dates 1707 and 1720. The bottles were placed in rows as if for collecting water in, and some of them held five or six gallons. As the Zeewyk was wrecked on a reef there in 1727, these articles, no doubt, belonged to it, and must have remained there for 113 years, namely, till April, 1840.

Having completed their observations at the Abrolhos, they sailed to Depuch Island, where they found some very remarkable native drawings cut on the rocks, representing, with much cleverness, fish, opossums, kangaroos, crabs, a native corrobory, &c. See vol. ii., p: 170. Captain Stokes describes Depuch Island as "a dreary heap of desolation, the metallic sound of the rocks under their feet giving ample warning" to a small species of kangaroo found there. From Depuch and the Turtle Islands, the Beagle again sailed for Timor. Returning thence to Sydney, by Swan River and South Australia,

making various observations on the route, they made no discovery of importance, except, perhaps, a small islet near Greenly Island.

At the commencement of June, 1841, the Beagle once more left Sydney to examine the Gulf of Carpentaria. When they reached the low flat coast of the eastern side of that gulf, scarcely visible above the water, except by the long line of broomlike casuarinas, or by masses of mangroves, they visited some of the Wellesley Islands to obtain turtles, where Flinders had found them so abundant. On Sweer's Island they discovered the well made by Flinders, and the name of the Investigator still conspicuous on a tree near it. Crossing over to Disaster Inlet, Mr. Gore was much wounded by the bursting of his gun, whence the inlet was named. Vast but fertile plains appeared to stretch into the interior. More to the eastward they discovered a river, which they named the Flinders. The land here was rather higher; the banks occasionally presented sand-rocks of some elevation, and the vicinity of the stream was agreeably varied by grassy banks and overhanging woods. They ascended the Flinders thirty miles from the mouth.

Soon after, on the 1st of August, they had the good fortune to discover a much finer river a little to the west of Disaster Inlet, which they named the Albert. Like the Flinders and other North Australian rivers, its mouth was enclosed by a thick growth of mangroves. These, however, soon gave way to gum-trees and acacias. As they sailed up they saw a number of natives digging for the small yam called by them the *warran*, while others were burning the bush for snakes and game. The country still improved, as they proceeded; it became higher and extremely picturesque. Palm-trees and bamboos mingled with the ordinary foliage. A fine reach, which they called Hope Reach, Captain Stokes thus describes:—"It was as glorious a prospect as could greet the eye. A magnificent sheet of water lay before us, in one unbroken expanse, resembling a smooth translucent lake. Its gentle repose harmonized exquisitely with the

slender motionless boughs of the drooping gums, palms, and acacias, that clustered on the banks, and dipped their feathery foliage in the limpid stream, that, like a polished mirror, bore, within its bosom, the image of the graceful vegetation by which it was bordered. The reports of our guns, as they dealt destruction among the quails that here abounded, rolled for the first time along the waters of the Albert, breaking in on the hush of stillness that appeared to reign over all like the presence of a spirit. The country which stretched away from either bank was an extensive plain, covered with long coarse grass, above which was occasionally seen the head of a kangaroo listening with its acute ear to our approach."

Scarcely, however, were they beyond this reach, when the course of the river was rendered impervious to the boat by fallen trees. They landed, and went ahead, only to descry immense plains which, from their fertile aspect, they named the Plains of Promise; and they then returned. They had penetrated about fifty miles into the country.

Captain Stokes regarded this region as of recent origin. They met with no rocks in their progress, nor any stones, except a few porphyritic ones, and these but little water-worn. He regarded this part of the continent as well adapted for a settlement, and especially as a point of departure for exploration; and he seems to have been the first to recommend the use of camels for this purpose, stating that they might be best and most cheaply obtained from the Gulf of Cutch: that they might frequently be purchased there for five pounds each, and that the drivers were more manageable than Arabs. We have seen how successfully this idea has recently been carried out.

When they had examined the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria for nearly 200 miles, they had discovered twenty inlets, and two rivers. They then examined Endeavour Straits, and went on to Port Essington. After this they made a voyage to Amboyna, and back to

Port Essington. In the subsequent visits to Swan River, to Australia, South Australia, and Van Diemen's Land, useful observations were made, but no discoveries of any great moment. The great discoveries of the Beagle during its last voyages were rivers. To its researches we owe the knowledge of the Victoria, the Fitzmaurice, the Adelaide, the Albert and the Flinders, a splendid contribution to the hydrography of Australia. Besides this, the exact observations over a vast extent of coast, of the true positions of bays, promontories, shoals, reefs, currents, and winds, with a long series of careful soundings, had given an immensely augmented security to the ships visiting these shores. Very considerable additions had also been made to the natural history of this continent, as may be seen by a reference to the appendix to Captain Stokes'. first volume. The services of the Beagle, of her commanders and crews, from first to last, are not readily to be estimated, especially when we reflect that they are of a kind that must endure coevally with Australia itself.

CHAPTER XXII.

DISCOVERIES IN NORTH-WEST AND WESTERN AUSTRALIA BETWEEN THE YEARS 1837 AND 1840, BY LIEUTENANTS GREY AND LUSHINGTON.

First expedition of Grey and Lushington.—Founding Western Australia.—Objects of the expedition of Grey and Lushington.—The party.—Sail from the Cape of Good Hope.—Water-snakes seen.—Arrive at Port George IV.—Intense heat on landing.—Sufferings of the party.—Death of three dogs.—Escape out of this burning desert to the ship.—The Prince Regent's River.—Its exploration.—Fury of the tides.—Torment of flies.—Encamp, and land stores.—Send to Timor for ponies.—Strange rocky scenery.—Surrounded by hostile natives.—The gouty-stemmed tree.—Ponies arrived, but too weak to carry their loads.—Terrible journey amongst rocks and ravines.—Attacked by natives.—Mr. Grey severely wounded.—Rustan's consolation to Mr. Grey on having killed a black fellow.—Discover the Glenelg.—New trees and scenery.—Entangled amongst streams.—Mount Lyell.—St. George's Basin.—Progress down the Glenelg.—Vast trees, rocks and swamps.—Paintings in a cave.—Queries as to their origin.—Make their way to Hanover Bay.—The Beagle.—Turn their remaining ponies loose, and embark for Mauritius.—Mr. Grey's estimate of the discovered country.—Its natural history.—Malay pottery.—White savages.

FIRST EXPEDITION UNDER LIEUTENANTS GREY AND LUSHINGTON, TO HANOVER BAY AND PRINCE REGENT'S RIVER. DISCOVERY OF THE GLENELG.

In introducing the expeditions of Western Australia, it will be as well to note the date of the founding of that colony.

Western Australia was originally founded to afford a place of emigration to those who objected to settle in a penal colony. The neighbourhood of Swan River had been explored by Captain Sterling, of Her Majesty's ship Success, while on his return from Raffles Bay, in 1827, and it was determined to found a colony there for free emigrants. A similar project had been entertained by the French, and it was only by fortunately having anticipated them that the Australian continent was saved from being the abode of the two rival races, French and English, and all the certain consequences of such an antagonism as must have arisen. Free grants of

land were offered by the English Government to emigrants to the amount of forty acres for every sum of £3 sterling, which they invested in goods and implements for importation to the settlement. Thus large tracts of land might be obtained at a very cheap rate, and the consequence was, a sudden influx of people of the middle ranks, who hoped to settle down on good estates, and live as those with larger fortunes did in England. Retired military and naval officers, younger sons of men of property in England, merchants, tradesmen, and West India planters, flocked over in great numbers. The landing places presented an extraordinary scene, where blood-horses, carriages, grand pianos, and similar articles of luxury, were landed from the ships. Great numbers of artizans also arrived, but not finding sufficient employment in their own arts, they re-emigrated to the more settled colonies, and the first aristocratic settlers found themselves soon without servants, and without a population to consume their mutton and agricultural produce, and for some time the colony was in great distress.

This state of things gradually changed, and expeditions were planned for the purpose of extending the boundaries of the colony.

We have seen that Captain Stokes relates the taking out of two young explorers and their party in the Beagle, in 1837, and that Captain Wickham had orders to land them at the Cape of Good Hope, or at Swan River, as they might deem best. We find on the Beagle's return to Hanover Bay, in March, 1838, they met with these young adventurers returned from a most disastrous and exhausting expedition into the interior. We have now to learn the details of this expedition from the pen of Lieutenant, soon afterwards Captain, Grey, and since then Sir George Grey, Governor of South Australia, and now of New Zealand.

Perhaps none of the Australian expeditions of discovery, for the same extent of country passed over, have exceeded these two in the amount of disaster and of

personal suffering. In both, the parties on descending on the Western coast were instantly plunged into a fury of the elements, which made the most dreadful havoc with their stores and means of transit, and filled the whole future course of their expeditions with the most terrible sufferings and privations.

The object of this first expedition is clearly laid down in the letter of instructions from Lord Glenelg, then Secretary of State for the Colonies. Lieutenants Grey and Lushington had addressed a communication to Lord Glenelg, offering to undertake an expedition to set out from Swan River, and proceed northward to explore parts of that coast still but imperfectly known, and which, from the opinions of Dampier and King, were supposed to contain considerable rivers, whose mouths had so far escaped observation. This offer was accepted, and was strongly recommended by the Royal Geographical Society. They were, as already observed, to embark with Captain Wickham in the Beagle, itself bound on a voyage of exploration of the Australian coasts, and were to have the option of disembarking at the Cape of Good Hope or at Swan River, and at whichever place they did so they were to engage a small, suitable vessel to convey the party and stores to Prince Regent's River, where they were to commence their route. After due examination of Prince Regent's River, they were then to take such a course as would lead them in the direction of the great opening behind Dampier's Land, and thence to endeavour to traverse the country southward to Swan River. By this plan they would, if they accomplished it, keep on a parallel with the unknown coast, and must necessarily cross every large river that flows from the interior towards that side of the continent. Such a journey would, indeed, confer a great knowledge of the rivers, mountains, surface and productions, as well as of the inhabitants of the country. But it was a march of a thousand miles, and would need all the support that a vessel accompanying its progress along the coast could afford it. Perhaps the great defect of this plan was in

not having such a vessel belonging to the Government put at the sole disposal of the expedition. As it was, on arriving at the Cape of Good Hope, Lieutenant Grey hired the Lynher, a schooner of 140 tons, Henry Brown master, which was to wait off the coast for them a specified time.

Besides Lieutenant Lushington, there came out from England with them, Mr. Walker, a surgeon, Corporals Coles and Auger, Royal Sappers and Miners.

The complete party as they left Cape Town, were :—

Lieutenant Grey.
Lieutenant Lushington.
Mr. Walker, Surgeon.
Mr. Powell, Surgeon.
Corporal Coles.
——— Auger.
Private Mustard.
J. C. Cox, a stock-keeper.
Thomas Rustan, a sailor, who had been with Captain King.
Evan Edwards, a sailor.
Henry Williams, shoemaker.
R. Ingleby, ditto.

The crew of the vessel consisted of the captain, one mate, seven men, and a boy. The live stock taken from the Cape, were, thirty-one sheep, nineteen goats, and six dogs. The dogs were, a grey-hound, one between a grey-hound and a fox-hound, one between a grey-hound and a sheep-dog, a bull-terrier, a Cape wolf-dog, and a mongrel.

In addition to this stock, it was Lieutenant Grey's intention to send to Timor for a number of ponies to serve as pack-horses, and at the end of the journey, to turn them into the bush, as well as additional sheep and goats to be procured thence. He had brought out, both from England and South America, a collection of seeds of valuable plants and trees, including fruit-trees and the cotton tree. He proposed also, that the vessel on returning from Timor, should bring young

cocoa-nut and other fruit-bearing trees and fruits, which they would plant as they went along.

On the voyage to the western coast of Australia, in latitude 15° 26′, longitude 122° 3′ east, they saw six or seven of those water-snakes seen by Dampier, Flinders, and Stokes in these seas. They were about three feet long only, of a dirty yellow with black stripes. Their heads were black, and they swam just like other snakes. They caught one of them. On the 29th of November, 1837, they were off Red Island, in Hanover Bay, and at sunset anchored off Entrance Island, Port George the Fourth. As the wind failed them here, Lieutenant Grey determined to land with a party at High Bluff Point, and walk overland to Hanover Bay, where the vessel was to lie off for them. The party consisted of the two lieutenants, Mr. Walker, the surgeon, and three men. Three of the dogs also were taken, to give them a run. Apparently, however, yet unacquainted with the country and climate, and with the business of exploration, and the necessary preparations for it, no regard was paid to the sort of shore on which they landed, or to the carrying with them the requisites for defence against the sun, or the weather by night, as well as by day. They sprung on shore in a boyish delight, at commencing the task of exploration in a new region, and plunged themselves instantly into the most frightful suffering.

They found the part of the country on which they landed of a more rocky and precipitous character than any they had seen. "Indeed," says Lieutenant Grey, "I could not more accurately describe the hills, than by saying, that they appeared to be the ruins of hills, composed, as they were, of huge blocks of red sand-stone, confusedly piled together in loose disorder, and so overgrown with spinifex and scrubs, that the interstices were completely hidden, and into these, one or other of the party was continually falling." The sun was intensely hot; for it was the early summer of that hemisphere, the end of November; the trees were so small,

and their foliage so scant, that they afforded no shade; and the heat, reverberated from the bare rocks, made the rocks themselves almost too burning to stand upon or touch. Experienced persons would at once have seen that to penetrate far into such a region, was impossible, and would have returned to the ship, and sought some more favourable place in which to have commenced examination. But they endeavoured to proceed, and soon felt the certain consequences. They were unfitted for sudden and violent exertion, under such a sun, after long inaction on shipboard, and they had set off without any means of defending themselves from the fierceness of the sun, or the horrors of thirst. They had brought only two pints of water on shore with them; little was to be expected in such a place; and they were totally without tents to protect them, equally from the blaze of day, and the cold and dew by night. A little experience would have taught them that a light cotton sheet, or a light Paisley blanket, which would roll up into a small compass, and of very few pounds weight, could be carried for each two or three men, and would answer admirably all the indispensable purposes of a tent in such a climate. This at any moment could be stretched over a pole, supported on two forked sticks, which light pole and sticks would furnish walking staffs to the men, and would protect them from any kind of weather. I speak from the use of these extemporized tents for two years in the Australian bush, where I found that the moment such a sheet or blanket was wet, it thickened up, and would turn any amount of rain; and that during the heat where there was any kind of scrub to throw on the sunny side, they furnished a most desirable shade to rest under during a burning noon, where no other shade was procurable, the ends being left open for the air to pass through.

But these simple modes of self-defence were all unknown to the present adventurers, and they found themselves of a sudden in the most perilous circumstances. Marching in unprotected simplicity over these burning

and shadowless rocks, "a feeling of lassitude and thirst," says Lieutenant Grey, "soon began to overcome all of us; for such a state of things we had unfortunately landed quite unprepared, having only two pints of water with us, a portion of which it was necessary to give to the dogs; who apparently suffered from the heat, in an equal degree with ourselves."

The water was quickly gone; the lassitude and exhaustion of both men and dogs became excessive; and before they had proceeded a mile, a very fine young dog dropped and was left behind, before they were aware of it. It was sought for, but could not be found. Another fine Cape buckhound—which must, therefore, have been accustomed to a hot climate—fell and expired; and the third was in such suffering that he was continually lying down, and to save their own lives they were compelled to abandon him. They had thus scarcely commenced their walk, when they lost three out of the six dogs which they had brought from the Cape. They had, in fact, stepped out of the boat into an oven. Struggling on over the inhospitable rocks, they at last saw water in a deep ravine, and scrambled down the rugged precipices only to find it salt. As the bottom of the ravine was impracticable from deep mud, confused masses of rock, and matted roots of mangroves, they were compelled to scale the cliffs again, where they sat down some time in despair. Lieutenant Grey, however, roused them to exert themselves for their lives, for they were literally being baked to death where they were. In a while they found some brackish water higher up the ravine, and were in some degree refreshed by it. They soon after discovered that the natives had been encamped immediately before. They had arranged a circle of flat stones round a fire-place. On each of these stones lay a smaller one, evidently for the purpose of breaking small shellfish, the remains of the shells, as well as the bones of kangaroos, lying about; and beside each pair of stones lay a large shell, evidently for a drinking cup. Captain King describes having, in his voyages round Australia, found

exactly similar rendezvous of the natives. They soon also came upon a hut built of a frame-work of logs, in shape like a beehive, and about four feet high and nine in diameter, much superior to the huts of the natives in South-Western Australia.

It was imperatively necessary to escape, if possible, out of this horrid desert before night; for it was certain that another such day would destroy the whole party. Lieutenant Grey, therefore, took the most direct way towards the sea shore that he could, desiring Mr. Lushington to follow his track by the sound of Mr. Grey's repeated firing of his gun, and to come on as well as the oppressed condition of the men would allow. But it was no such easy matter to escape from this labyrinth of wild rocks. They rose on his way to whichever side he turned, towering in burning nakedness, or peering above the thick forest. As he climbed and scrambled up and down, from time to time he fired his gun, and waited for the answering report before he went on again. At length, to his great joy, he reached the sea, stripped, and plunged into it. There he lay, imbibing coolness and moisture at every pore, till the rest of the party came up, and followed his example. Leaving them there to refresh themselves, Mr. Grey again started along the beach, to arrive within hail of the vessel. His course was soon, however, obstructed by an arm of the sea, from which the tide, which here rises and falls thirty-eight feet, was running out with fearful rapidity.

What was to be done? Night was coming on; there was no wood on the beach to make a fire of. The cliffs were too precipitous to climb, and few of the party could swim the stream; and to pass the night suffering from their extreme thirst, was dreadful to think of. Lieutenant Grey then stripped himself, retaining only his shirt, boots, and cap; and with his pistol in his left hand, in the hope of preserving it dry so as to fire a call to the vessel, he plunged in, and made for the opposite shore. But he was soon compelled to think no more of keeping his pistol dry, but had to battle with the hurry-

ing tide for his life. Escaping to land, however, he now found that the firing had alarmed the natives, and their cries came from different parts of the woods around. They were evidently coming down upon him. The shouts which he made to arrest the attention of the people on board the Lynher, which he now saw lying off, only directed the steps of the enemy. He therefore crept into a hole of the rocks, and being thoroughly worn out, fell fast asleep. He supposed he had slept two hours, when he was awoke by the cry of, "Mr. Grey! Mr. Grey!" and found that it was the voice of Mr. Smith, the mate of the schooner, who had been in a boat and picked up his party, and now sought him. They were soon on board, and had in a few hours learned a lesson not soon to be forgotten.

The next morning, they saw that they were lying at the mouth of Prince Regent's River. Though the weather was calm, the sea was in a grand and majestic motion from the effect of the great tides there. The river poured out from narrow channels between lofty precipices of three or four hundred feet high, the summits of which were lightly wooded, and broken by wide openings into which ran arms of the sea, forming gloomy channels of communication with the interior; while on each side of these entrances, the huge cliffs rose like the pillars of some gigantic portal. They now set out in a boat to explore one of the entrances to the river. They found its mouths terminating, at about twenty miles inland, in extensive basins, the surface of which rose with every tide thirty-seven feet, the waters on these occasions rushing through their funnel-like entrances with a tremendous force and velocity. They found themselves, as they sailed on, everywhere surrounded by perpendicular cliffs, at the feet of which, in a narrow strip between them and the water, shot up a dense forest of trees—palms, pandanus, nutmeg, and other trees. Next to the water rose a lofty species of eucalyptus, with a bark resembling layers of coarse white paper, and thence called the paper-bark tree. These raised their heads to the very

summits of some of the cliffs. Amongst the trees grew a rich tropical vegetation of grasses and climbing plants, while paroquets of the most brilliant colours filled the wood with their cries. To the right and left struck off ravines of the same character, down which they could see that, in the rainy season, cascades fell from the rocks. On the summit of the rocks lay a sandy table-land, thinly wooded.

The scenery was beautiful to look on, but offered no very promising prospects of accessibility to travellers; and they were everywhere tormented by that plague of flies, which, from the days of Dampier, has been noted as one of the great pests of Australia. "To sleep after sunrise," says Mr. Grey, "it was impossible, on account of the number of flies which kept buzzing about the face. To open our mouths was dangerous—in they flew, and mysteriously disappeared, to be rapidly ejected again in a violent fit of coughing; and into the eyes, when unclosed, they soon found their way, and by inserting the proboscis and sucking, speedily made them sore. Neither were the nostrils safe from their attacks, which were made simultaneously on all points, and in multitudes. This was a very troublesome annoyance, but I afterwards found it to be a very general one throughout all the unoccupied portions of Australia; although, in general, the farther north you go in this continent, the more intolerable does the fly nuisance become."—Grey's "Journal of Two Expeditions," vol. i. p. 81.

In sailing up the river, they passed an island in midstream, bearing a single mangrove tree, which they thence called One-Tree Island. In returning at high tide, the island had disappeared, and they could only see the leafy tops of the tree deep in the clear water, under the boat! —a fine proof of the nature of the tides there. A watering party saw the young dog which had first fallen the first day of their landing, but he appeared quite mad, and ran away into the woods, without recognising any of the party when they called him.

They now selected a place for their encampment about

a mile up the river from the landing place, on a neck of land running out from the junction of two valleys. They had here water and grass for the stock, and were out of reach of missiles which might be thrown by the natives from the cliffs. They would have preferred encamping on the table-land, but it would have been too laborious for the men to carry up the stores thither, and they contented themselves with being out of the reach of the tide. They then formed a pathway from the landing-place to the camp, by firing the bush, and laboriously removing the rocks and stones. This done, they set up the tents, hoisted the British flag, took formal possession in the name of the Queen, and landed their sheep and goats, which appeared greatly to enjoy the change from on ship-board. The men then commenced carrying the stores from the landing-place to the tent, the schooner having to start for Timor for ponies and other articles. Mr. Lushington was to go on this expedition, and Mr. Grey determined during their absence to make an excursion of discovery into the country. Whilst they were engaged in carrying out the stores, some natives appeared on the top of the cliffs, and shouted, and made motions for them to go away, and when they saw that this took no effect, they threw down some large stones and disappeared. They also saw others fishing on the beach, but could not prevail on them to allow them to approach. They also observed near the landing-place, mud-fish of the curious, amphibious kind which Captain King had first seen in this river. They also noticed a species of mullet, which, like salmon, lived sometimes in salt, and at others in the fresh water, being occasionally found at a considerable distance from the sea.

On Sunday, December 17, Lieutenant Grey started in the evening on his excursion into the country. He was accompanied by Corporal Coles and Private Mustard. They advanced up one of the ravines running south from the river, not more than forty or fifty feet wide, with lofty sand-stone cliffs on each hand; the tall paper-bark

gum-trees with their white stems towered above them, and a beautiful cool stream gushing along, and leaping over a succession of small cascades at their side. As the ravine contracted, the paper-barks gave way to wild nutmeg, and other fragrant trees. Cockatoos soared and screamed over their heads, many coloured paroquets darted away amongst the woods, and the large white pigeons which feed on the wild nutmegs, cooed loudly to their mates, and battered the boughs with their wings.

After scaling the rocks, and coming out on the table-land, a very different scene presented itself. The soil was sandy, and thickly clothed with spinifex, the keenly pointed needle grass, which struck through their trousers, and tormented their legs. The trees were lofty, but all were charred and blackened by bush fires, and their slight, thin, yet strikingly graceful foliage gave them a most picturesque appearance. Lofty and fantastic pinacles of sand-stone rose here and there in the woods, and these were frequently clothed with a profusion of creeping and climbing plants, which gave them an air of elegance and mystery. Gigantic ant-hills large as native huts rose here and there, and they saw the kangaroo timidly stealing away before them.

Pity that such a country should not be easy of exploration; but they found it continually cut across by deep and difficult ravines, and it was an arduous matter to make way in it. Private Mustard soon became exhausted by the heat and exertions, and Mr. Grey mounted one of the sand-stone pillars to get a survey of the country. Around him arose many acres covered by these lofty pillars, which stood up like those of the aisles of some ruined cathedral. Beneath them were caverns in which they could hear waters flowing, and it was apparent that these pillars were left by the falling in of such caverns, and that the whole of these heights was in a process of disintegration, and of being washed by the rains down into the river.

Having killed a crane, they were about to cook it for breakfast, when they found that the rats had forestalled

them, and eaten most of it during the night. But they were soon compensated by entering a wooded ravine, abounding with the cuckoo pheasant, *Cuculus phasiacus*, resembling the hen pheasant of Europe, and Mr. Grey banged away at them, declaring that he had never enjoyod a better day's pheasant shooting in any preserve in England. They also found nuts on a large, shady tree, hanging pods like tamarinds, which tasted exactly like filberts. In the midst of their luxuries, however, they found themselves suddenly, as they sat at the feet of some rocks, surrounded by a troop of natives, thirteen of whom were visible, all armed with spears, and painted for war. They were mounted on the summits of the great masses of sand-stone rock, and as no sign of conciliation availed, Mr. Grey answered their shouts defiantly, and advanced towards them, and fired one barrel of his gun over their heads. This had the desired effect; they decamped in all haste. But as there was evidently a great number of natives in the country, and the party consisted of only three, it was deemed prudent to return at once to the camp, the more so as the people there might also have been attacked. There, however, they found all safe; and before the Lynher returned from Timor with the ponies, Mr. Grey made an excursion into the country between Port George the Fourth and Hanover Bay, which he found very fertile, having rocks of porphyry and basalt, and abounding with springs. After Camden Bay, Mr. Grey regarded this neck of land as the most important position for a settlement on the north-west coast of Australia. The gouty-stemmed tree was in abundance there, and afforded the natives fruit resembling almonds, contained in abundance in pulp, and in a rind of an elliptical form as large as a cocoa nut. They also procured from the stem a juice thickening into a substance resembling in taste and appearance, maccaroni. The bark of these trees was scored with rows of short marks, many of them scored through with a line, as Mr. Grey thought, to indicate the number of nuts gathered each year from a tree.

On the 17th of January, 1838, the Lynher returned from Timor with the ponies, six-and-twenty in number, but they were perfectly wild, and occasioned enormous trouble in landing them, and getting them up to the encampment. They, as well as the sheep and goats, soon began to fall off instead of improving, and one of the ponies dying, a hatful of sand was found in its stomach. The country being covered with loose sand, and the grass short, and probably coming up by the roots, when the animals attempted to crop it, they thus swallowed large quantities of sand, and destroyed their digestive powers. The animals were, in addition, chilled by heavy rains, which prevailed. When they set out to proceed towards the interior, the ponies were found too weak to carry their loads. They were compelled to leave much of their provisions and ammunition behind, trusting that the natives would not find them. Still the ponies were too weak to carry the rest, and both ponies and sheep began to die one after another. They found the extremest difficulty in getting forward; for they had continually to ascend rocky steeps, and again to descend into rocky ravines, to swim streams, and to march through the assailing spinifex.

Entangled in these ravines and amongst these rocks, and oppressed by intense heat, they struggled on till the 10th of February, undergoing enormous fatigue in moving rocks and scrub out of the way, and in swimming the animals over streams now swollen by the rains. Mr. Grey saw that it was impossible to have hit upon a more impracticable point for an attempt to get into the interior, and after ten terrible days they had only advanced one short day's journey from the valley in which they had at first encamped, and lost seven of the ponies, besides injuring the remainder. Not much can be said of the sagacity shown in first examining whether the route was practicable.

Under these circumstances it was necessary to send Mr. Lushington with a party to bring up the stores left behind; and whilst he was gone, Mr. Grey set forward

with Coles and a young man from the Cape of Good Hope, taking provisions on the ponies, in order to discover, if possible, a route out to the open country. They had scarcely left the camp when a party of 200 natives, men, women, and children, appeared there and kept the people left in charge in great alarm. They also observed some of them answer to shouts from the direction in which Mr. Grey and his two men had gone, and make off towards that quarter. In fact, Mr. Grey's party were speedily surrounded by armed natives, and spears came whizzing in on them from all sides. Mr. Grey was severely wounded by one in the hip. Wrenching the spear from the wound, he fired and broke one man's arm, and shot another, who was driving at him with his club, dead. On this the savages fled, carrying off with them the wounded man.

Lieutenant Grey expressed deep regret in having been compelled to kill this hostile native, but he was himself suffering great loss of blood, and not being able to get back to the camp, a man was sent on to bring a tent, surgeon, and provisions, to where he lay. Meantime he lay with his finger on his gun, that he might defend a life which at that moment he believed ebbing away with his blood, and his reflections were such as many a one beside himself has made in the Australian wilds under the same circumstances:—"The loveliness of nature was around me; the sun rejoicing in his cloudless career; the birds were filling the woods with their songs; and my friends far away, and unapprehensive of my condition.

"And in this way very many explorers yearly die. One youth, my own friend and companion—Mr. Frederick Smith—has thus fallen since; others have, to my knowledge, lately perished in a similar way. A strange sun shines upon their lonely graves; the foot of the wild man yet roams over them; but let us hope, when civilization has spread so far, that their graves will be sacred spots, that the future settlers will sometimes breathe a sigh over the remains of the first explorer, and tell their children how much they are indebted to

the enthusiasm, perseverance, and courage of him who lies buried there."

Whilst Mr. Grey lay suffering from his wound, he was attended by Rustan, an original sailor, who, thinking he was also wounded in his mind by having shot the native, said:—"Well, sir, I'm sure, if I were you, I shouldn't think nothing at all of having shot that there black-fellow; why, sir, they're very thick and plentiful up the country."

As soon as he could manage to ride on horseback, they set out on a track which Mr. Lushington had discovered, which led them by a south-west course into a great volcanic plain, broken up by conical, basaltic peaks and rounded hills. This abounded with grass, which was greatly needed for their cattle, for their ponies were now reduced from twenty-six to fourteen, and these were very weakly. Numerous streams flowed through this plain, and on the 2nd of March they came upon a noble river running through a beautiful country. It was at that place three or four miles across, and studded with numerous islands. "I have since," says Mr. Grey, "seen many Australian rivers, but none equal to this either in magnitude or beauty."—Vol. i. p. 166.

They named this fine river the Glenelg, and Mr. Lushington set out to examine it. He reported that its northern bank was low and marshy, and covered with a luxuriant vegetation, and sometimes with such forests of mangrove trees, that it was impossible to approach it. One channel of it which they reached was 400 yards wide, the current very rapid, and the tide, which set westward, falling about twenty feet. The southern bank was bounded by high, rocky hills. They advanced along this watery plain, with the river on their right hand, and on their left grassy hills. The trees were of great size, and very unlike Australian trees in general, having very large leaves very much the colour of the horse-chesnut, and giving more shade than any other kind of tree which they had seen on this continent. They were now as much entangled amongst streams as

they had been before among the hills. As they drew near the Glenelg after going some distance, they found the channel nearest to them impeded by cataracts, and, therefore, not navigable for large vessels even at full tide. Arriving at the foot of a lofty peak, Mr. Grey ascended it, and obtained a magnificent view. About a mile eastward rose another, and much higher, peak, which he named Mount Lyell. This, he calculated, could not be less than 1600 feet in altitude. It was evidently volcanic, and displayed a feature which I saw with surprise in an extinct volcano on a plain some twenty or more miles north of Melbourne. The hill was covered with trees to within some 200 feet below the summit; there the trees ceased in a direct horizontal line, and above this ring not a single tree grew, though the summit was beautifully green with grass. It was not the altitude which prevented the growth of trees, but must be some quality in the substance of the hill which had been ejected from the crater.

To the north lay the Prince Regent's River; to the south and westward the Glenelg; and the eye roved over an extensive country as verdant and fertile as was ever beheld. On the Prince Regent's River, Mount Wellington and Mount Trafalgar formed splendid objects, rearing their rocky heads over St. George's Basin, which looked like a vast lake.

As they proceeded down the Glenelg, they were so much impressed with its great volume of water that they conceived it to be one of the very largest rivers of Australia. Enormous trees grew on its banks, and these were so shrouded in rank vegetation that they could with difficulty approach them. They could see by drift wood, reeds, &c., in the trees, that it was subject to great floods. The rains continuing, their sheep and ponies began to die off again; they had only five sheep left alive. The river held away south-west through low wet lands admirably adapted for rice culture. To avoid these they were again entangled amongst the sand-stone hills, and perceived that the natives were around them in the woods

by their cries and their fires. On the old red sand-stone they were again persecuted by the green ants. Their spirits were only kept up by the beauty of the tropical scenery and the new animals and plants which they saw. At one time a small kangaroo came rolling out of the woods enveloped in the folds of a boa-constrictor; at another they were traversing crops of wild oats as tall as themselves. Still endeavouring to push on towards the debouchure of the Glenelg, sometimes amidst basaltic rocks, sometimes amongst sand-stone ones, they came upon a cave in a secluded valley of the sand-stone, where they were astonished by the sight of paintings far beyond anything yet seen in Australia. They were of human figures. The rock on which they were drawn was painted black, the figures white and delineated in outlines of bright red. On the head was a sort of hood of red surrounded by rays as of a glory. One of these figures on the roof was four feet six from the crown of the head to the navel. On one of the walls were four other figures; two seeming to stand hand-in-hand, and the heads of the other two just looking over their heads. The lower figures only reached to the waist. They were outlined in red like the other, and their bodies covered with short lines of red. Besides the red hoods here trimmed with yellow, they had beyond these each a broad circle of deep blue edged with red. None of them had any mouths. There was, amongst, others, a full-length man carrying a kangaroo on his head, and on a large oval ground of yellow dotted with lines of red, a kangaroo feeding, and one or two spear-heads flying at it. In another cave was found a figure of a man ten feet six in height, wearing a bright red robe close at the neck and reaching to the feet. He had only a pair of eyes, and his face was surrounded by a circle of yellow, and an outer circle of white edged with red. There were many such paintings, and in an isolated mass of rock fronting one of the caves, the profile of a man cut in the solid stone of a character more European than Australian, and executed in a style far beyond what any savage

race can be supposed capable of. The profile gradually increased in depth from the edges, where it was nothing, to the centre, where it was an inch and a half deep.

The astonishment of the discoverers may be supposed, and the question was, and is, who were the artists? We have seen that both Flinders and King, in their voyage along the Australian coasts, discovered drawings. Those of Flinders were discovered in the hollow of a precipice, in Chasm Island, in the Gulf of Carpentaria. They were drawings of porpoises, turtles, kangaroos, and a human hand; but they were only traced by a burnt stick or a piece of charcoal, and something like red paint upon the white ground of the rock. Those discovered by King, or rather by Allan Cunningham, were on Clack's Island, on the north-east coast of Australia. They were in galleries on a sea cliff, worn by the weather. They were very numerous, depicting dogs, kangaroos, turtles, fish, clubs, canoes, etc. And were executed on a red ground, by white lines and dots. At Swan River also some such paintings have been discovered, but extremely rude.

Lieutenant Grey made inquiries amongst the natives afterwards regarding such paintings, as he was informed that they had curious legends regarding them, but he could learn nothing, and they seemed to know nothing of their origin, but all told an absurd story, that the moon, who was a man, had once lived there. One thing is worthy of note, and that is, that all these paintings, occur on the coast, or near it, and suggest the idea that they are the work of some people who had made descents on these shores, rather than of the natives. The Malays are found to make such visits to the northern coasts frequently, and it remains to be yet determined whether the natives, they, or some other maritime and eastern people are the originators of these singular paintings.

On ascending some of the hills, and seeing their route utterly cut off by rocks, hills, marshes, and tributary streams southwards, the travellers reluctantly returned

towards Hanover Bay, encountering the same difficulties, as in their advance. At one of their encampments they found three varieties of a kind of vine, which climbed the trees, and bore plentiful bunches of small black grapes, which they greatly enjoyed, Mr. Grey believed them to be a species of cissus.

On reaching Hanover Bay, they had the pleasure to find the Beagle there, and learnt that Lieutenant Stokes was on an expedition, exploring the coast between Colliers Bay and Port George the Fourth. They were, therefore, in great expectation that he would discover the mouth of the Glenelg, in which, however, he was not successful, for though he had examined Collier's Bay, he had missed the outlet into which the Glenelg falls, namely, Doubtful Bay. As the health of not only Mr. Grey, but that of Mr. Lushington, forbade the continuance of the exploration, they turned their ponies loose into the country to run wild. They were now reduced to eleven, and these very much scarred and marked. They then embarked again in the Lynher, and sailed for the Mauritius.

To the account of this disastrous but very interesting expedition, which made known the Glenelg and much fine country on the western coast, Mr. Grey appended a variety of miscellaneous information, which he had collected during its progress, a few points of which we may cursorily notice.

"The most remarkable geographical feature in North-Western Australia," says Mr. Grey, "is a high range of mountains, running N.N.E. and S.S.E., named by me Stephen's Range, after James Stephen, Esq., Under Secretary of State for the Colonies. From this primary range, several branches are thrown off. 1st. One between Roe's River on the north, and Prince Regent's River on the south. 2nd. Macdonald's Range, that throws off streams to Prince Regent's River on the north, and the Glenelg River on the south. 3rd. Whateley Range, which gives forth streams to Glenelg River on the north

and the low country behind Collier's Bay, and Dampier's Land on the south."

Mr. Grey regards the north bank of the Prince Regent's River as offering no inducements to formation of a settlement, from its extremely rocky character, nor the south bank as far as longitude 125° 3′ E., but a creek from that point running south, opens up a most fertile country. The coast-line to the south of Prince Regent's River is indented by numerous bays, and the three extremely fine harbours, Port George the Fourth, Hanover Bay, and Camden Sound, and these viewed in connection with the fertile country lying behind them, and the facilities for future trade with China and the islands of the Indian Archipelago, make this portion of Australia of great value. Amongst other useful timber, it produces pine fit for building or spars for vessels; and gum tragacanth, amongst other vegetable products.

Mr. Grey traced the footsteps of a large animal with a divided hoof, which, if a buffalo, must have been a very large one, but he could not sight it. Amongst the great variety of birds he noticed the singular nest of one, formed of dead grass, and parts of bushes sunk a slight depth into the ground in two parallel lines, and then nicely arched above, resembling a miniature hut of a native. Very singularly, these nests were always found full of broken sea shells, large heaps of which, protruded from each extremity. Mr. Gould states them to be the runs or play-grounds of the bird *Chalmydera nuchalis*. Mr. Grey also saw two large black-and-white birds, of the form of pelicans and having webbed feet, but heads and beaks different to pelicans. They seem to be of the same species as some seen by Captain Cook, at Botany Bay. They are named by Gould as a rare species, the *Anas semipalmata*.

The natives he describes as robust and well-made men, having better developed arms and legs, than the Australian natives generally; and as having a white race amongst them, more daring than the rest, and ap-

parently exercising great influence over them. These were probably Malays, or the children of Malays, who visit these coasts. On the beach of Vansittart's Bay, he found a broken earthen pot of decided Malay manufacture, showing their frequenting of the coast. Of these white savages, he and his men saw four.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SECOND EXPEDITION OF CAPTAIN GREY; NAMELY, TO SHARK'S BAY, DISCOVERY OF THE RIVER GASCOYNE.

Shark's Bay.—The Gascoyne.—Sojourn at Swan River.—Search for Mr. Elliot.—Sails from Shark's Bay.—Takes whale-boats.—His party.—Deposit the stores on an island in Shark's Bay.—Boats and stores ruined by a storm on Dorre Island.—The delta of the Gascoyne.—Babbage Island.—Attacked by natives.—Miserable situation.—Find nearly all their provisions destroyed by the tempest on Bernier Island.—The boats useless.—Determine to endeavour to reach Perth by land.—Commence the journey.—No tent to protect them.—Oppressive heat.—Native villages.—Mounts Victoria and Albert.—The river Hutt.—Fine country on the Buller.—Troubles with some of the men.—Menacing natives.—The river Grenough.—Water Peak.—Captain Grey compels the men to destroy all unnecessary luggage.—Only hope of life in sending on the most active to obtain food for the rest.—Five or six pounds of flour per man.—Collect the dew from the grass for water.—Captain Grey starts forward with four men and the native guide.—Leaves Mr. Frederick Smith very unwell.—The Arrowsmith.—Mount Horner.—Mount Perron.—Their flour exhausted.—Gairdner Range.—Men ill from eating zamia nuts.—Miserable waterless country.—Selfishness of the native guide.—His melancholy song.—Three days without water.—Guide advises to desert the rest of the party.—They reel along with failing senses on their way.—Abandon almost everything they had.—Haggard aspect of the party.—Find a little puddle.—Shoot a cockatoo.—And find muscles.—Native superstition.—In two days more reach natives and get food.—Curious dialogue with a black cook.—The Captain reaches Perth like a spectre. Relief sent to the parties behind.—Poor Smith dead.—Affecting scene at his burial.—The rest only reached in time.—The native's account of finding poor Smith.—Amount of discoveries on this disastrous journey.

On arriving at the Mauritius, Lieutenant Grey dismissed the Lynher schooner, and took some time to recover from the effects of his wound and his fatigues, and to recruit the strength of his men. But the ardour of discovery had not been damped by his sufferings, and he still contemplated prosecuting the courses of the Fitzroy and Glenelg rivers, which had been simultaneously discovered by Captain Wickham and himself. By the sound advice of Sir William Nicolay, the Governor of the Mauritius, he was induced, however, for the present, to forego this enterprise, and to return to Swan River, and there consult with the Governor, Sir James Stirling. He therefore embarked at Port Louis, on the 21st of August, 1838, and arrived on the 18th of September,

at Swan River. There he remained till the middle of February, 1839, waiting in vain for a proper vessel to convey himself and men to Shark's Bay, which he proposed to make his point of departure on his new expedition. During this period, however, he employed himself in making acquaintance with the natives and their language in Western Australia. He also set out on a journey in search of Mr. Elliott, who had proceeded from the Williams River to the Leschenault, and was supposed to be lost in the bush. The Williams is in the interior; the Leschenault on the coast and between the two rivers; the Darling Range, a high chain of mountains which had never before been crossed at that point. The distance was only seventy miles, and Mr. Elliott might have been expected to reach Leschenault in three or four days, and had taken with him provisions only calculated for that period. But his absence had extended to twenty days, and great fears were accordingly entertained on his account. Mr. Grey, with Mr. Walker, the surgeon, and the two corporals of the sappers and miners, Auger and Coles, set out on horseback on the 9th of January, attended by native guides; rode 120 miles to the Williams, crossed the Darling Range, got upon the tracks of Elliott, and traced them down to within a few miles of Leschenault, where they arrived on the 23rd of the same month, and entered the town together. This sharp ride of fourteen days by river and mountain, bivouacking with the natives, was a good preparation for new toils, and in the course of it Captain Grey picked up a valuable native interpreter, named Kaibu, who accompanied him on his new expedition to Shark's Bay.

Failing, after all, to procure a proper vessel for the expedition, a passage was taken in the American whaler, Russell, of New Bedford, Captain Long. He took with him three whale-boats, in which to commence operations at some point north of Shark's Bay; to explore the unknown portions of the bay, and then to coast southward, landing at different places, and making excursions

into the interior. He hoped by this means to get so far southward as Gantheaume, and to be taken up by a vessel sent from Perth by Mr. Hutt, the new governor, or by another American whaler. The latter part of the project does not seem to have been very accurately calculated, but to have been left far too much to hazard; and, indeed, to any one at all acquainted with the tremendous tides, the heavy seas, the sudden tempests, and the formidable reefs and breakers of that coast, must have appeared from the first a most perilous undertaking, in nothing better than three whale-boats.

Captain Grey, however, set sail in the Russell from Freemantle, on the 17th of February, 1839. His staff now consisted of the following persons:—

Mr. Walker, surgeon, of the former expedition.

Mr. Frederick Smith, the son of Mr. Octavius Smith, Thames Bank, England, and grandson of Mr. William Smith, so many years Member of Parliament for Norwich.

Corporals Coles and Auger. } These three were of
Thomas Rustan, sailor. } the former expedition.

H. Wood, and C. Wood, seamen.

Clotworthy, Stiles, and Hackney, engaged at Swan River.

Kaibu, the native. Total, twelve persons.

On the 25th of February, they reached Bernier Island, in Shark's Bay, got out their stores, and buried them in the sand. The selection of an island for the depôt of their stores no doubt was to prevent them being discovered and carried off by natives in their absence. But it is not possible to compliment the explorers on the sagacity of their management, any more than on the first steps of their previous expedition. This island was a mere sand-bank, low, and, as it soon appeared, subject to be almost, if not completely buried by the huge tides and tempests of these seas. There was not a drop of water upon it, for it was a mere layer of sand on a solid rock. The winds had risen, and it was necessary to get

to the mainland; but the moment they pushed off the first boat laden with stores, it was swamped in the breakers, and all that cargo of their stores destroyed. On the 28th they started for the land in the two other boats, each carrying about half a ton of stores for daily use. On their way they put into a little cove in Dorre Island, another such barren patch of land as Bernier Island, but where they obtained a very little very dirty water, which had been left by the rain. But whilst collecting this, the tempest increased to such a fury, that their boats were flung on shore through the breakers; all the stores were soaked with sea-water, and spoiled. Through a terrible night of thunder, wind, and rain, they had to drag their boats higher and higher on land, or they would have been swept away. As it was, the island itself seemed as if it would be blown away piecemeal; sand, and shrubs torn up by the roots, were driven before the wind.

The boats were so knocked to pieces as to be beyond effectual repair, and there they were, the ship gone, and they, at the very outset of their expedition, without boats that could do more than carry them to land, and without stores, except such fragments of them mixed with sea-water, as they could collect from the strand. The ammunition was damaged, the chronometers down. If they had reflected that Bernier Island, where their main depôt of stores lay, was much lower than this Dorre Island, they must have had but little hope of finding any of those stores of any value, if not washed altogether into the sea. Till the 3rd of March they were struggling with the elements on this desert island. The officers and men all this time had been wet and miserable, and busy in repairing the boats sufficiently to carry them to the main land, and in rescuing what damaged stores they could.

The weather now became calmer, and they again made for the land. They could see numbers of large trees lying on the shore of Dorre Island, which had been drifted across from the land, and they therefore reason-

ably inferred that they should find a river there. It was dark when they reached what they thought was land, but it proved only a sand-bank covered by mangrove trees. They lay at some distance from the sand-bank all night. The next morning they reached a vast mangrove swamp, for land it could not be called, and waded through the mud for about two miles, when they got on terra firma by a lagoon of fresh water. From this lagoon they supplied the boats with the much-needed element, put out again from this creek, and found another mouth of this seeming river more northward. "To those," says Captain Grey, "who have never seen a river similar to the one we were now really upon, it is difficult to convey a true idea of its character. It consisted of several channels, or beds, divided from each other by long strips of land, which, in time of flood, become islands. The main channel had an average breadth of about 270 yards; the average height of the banks at the edge of it was about fifteen feet, and the bed of the river was composed of porous red sand, apparently incapable of containing water, unless when previously saturated with it."

On the margin of the sea, however, this strange channel spread out into the mangrove swamps already described; but higher, where the sea ceased to ascend, this huge river bed was perfectly dry, and looked the most mournful, deserted spot imaginable. Occasionally water holes of twenty feet deep were found in this dry channel, surrounded by sea trees and vegetation, and the drift wood, washed high up into these trees, sufficiently showed what tremendous floods in the wet season poured along this now dry channel. It was now, indeed, the hottest time of the year.

After ranging across from bank to bank, they concluded that the country upon the northern bank was scrubby, and covered with samphire swamps, whilst on the southern bank it was rich and promising. Captain Grey named the river the Gascoyne, after his friend, Captain Gascoyne. On progressing further into the

country west by south, he found it one great delta of rich alluvial soil, with sloping, grassy rises, and in the valleys many fresh-water lagoons. It was a grand discovery, and he felt sure that in a few years it would be occupied by a numerous and prosperous British population.

The island lying between the two mouths of the river they named Babbage Island. Mr. Smith, owing to the excessive exertions and exposure on Dorre Island, and the heat of the weather, had been very unwell, but being now better, they proceeded, on the 7th of March, in one boat, northward, along the shore. Off a range of sand hills, which they named Lyell's Range, about twenty-five miles north of the Gascoyne, they had their boat again swamped in crossing a sand-bar to the shore. Their flour and other provisions, sufficiently injured before, were now rendered unusable, except to hungry men who had nothing else. From the shore they saw only extensive plains, sandy, scrubby, and unpromising. Mr. Smith and the men became ill again with eating the unwholesome food. Captain Grey himself was suffering. In this condition, while their boat was drawn up on shore, and they were endeavouring to make a wretched meal out of the damaged provisions, they were suddenly surrounded by about thirty natives, who appeared on the sand-hills over their heads, and greeted them with a shower of spears. They were not driven away before they had managed to carry off two bags containing their fishing-lines, and other articles of great value. Chase was given for the recovery of these, but the light-legged natives contented themselves with dropping from time to time the articles they did not care for, and succeeded in bearing away the fourteen fishing-lines. Rustan, the sailor, was found to be slightly wounded in the knee by a spear.

From March 10th to the 15th they were detained on this spot by tempestuous weather. It was a melancholy time. Both men and officers brooded in this condition of inactivity on the disasters which had befallen them,

and on the gloomy prospect before them. The remarks of Captain Grey on the occasion are such as display a tone of mind which I have noticed with deep satisfaction in nearly all the heroic discoverers whose labours I have already traced:—"It may be asked if, during such a trying period I did not seek from religion that consolation which it is sure to afford? My answer is—Yes; and I farther feel assured that but for the support I derived from prayer and frequent perusal and meditation of the Scriptures, I should never have been able to have borne myself in such a manner as to have maintained discipline and confidence amongst the rest of the party: nor in my sufferings did I ever lose the consolation derived from a firm reliance upon the goodness of Providence. It is only those who go forth into perils and dangers, amidst which human foresight and strength can but little avail, and who find themselves day after day, protected by an unseen influence, and ever and anon snatched from the very jaws of destruction by a Power which is not of this world, who can at all estimate the knowledge of one's own weakness and littleness, and the firm reliance and trust upon the goodness of the Creator which the human heart is capable of feeling."—Vol. i. p. 381.

When the weather abated they put back to the southern entrance of the Gascoyne, and on the 20th of March passed over to Bernier Island, to ascertain the condition of their stores. The discovery was an awful one, but such only as might have been expected from the character of the island, and the fury of the late storms. The provisions had all been torn from their *cache*, and whirled about the sands. Much was swept away by the waves, the rest was irremediably ruined. When this discovery was first made by Captain Grey, Mr. Smith, and Corporal Coles, Coles dashed his spade upon the ground with ferocious violence, and exclaimed—"All lost! we are all lost, sir!" Mr. Smith stood calm and unmoved.

Captain Grey went off to inform the rest of the party

on the shore of the frightful revelation; but as soon as he was out of sight of Mr. Smith and Coles, he sat down to ponder what was the best course to pursue, and he came to the conclusion that it was to coast along if possible to Swan River. He then strengthened and settled his mind by reading a few chapters in the Bible, and walked on. The blank despair that marked the faces of the crew when the news was spoken to them was complete. Mr. Walker, corporal Auger, and Rustan bore it like heroes. Harry and Charley Woods immediately stole away to seize the miserable remains of the damper, where they had breakfasted, but the Captain firmly informed the whole company that he expected them to show themselves true men in their conduct to one another, and that he should enforce that discipline.

The whole of the provisions left were a cask of salt pork, and a bag and half a cask of flour; but the flour was so damaged by salt water and fermentation on the shore for several weeks, that it smelt like beer. There were nine days' salt meat, or a pound a man per diem, and about sixty pounds of tolerably good flour, to carry them on a course of nearly five hundred miles by sea and land. On the 23rd of March they set sail, and passing Shark's Bay, they steered along a very barren shore, generally made inaccessible by breakers, and by desperate exertions, continued day and night, they reached Gantheaume Bay on the 31st, and Captain Grey and his boat's crew were there thrown on shore by the breakers, and the boat dashed to pieces. Directly after, the second boat came on shore in the same manner.

On examining the condition of the boats, the carpenters declared that they could not be again made fit for sea. Even if they could have been, it was doubtful whether they could be got uninjured through the tremendous surf which broke on the shore there. There was nothing for it, therefore, but to endeavour to make the journey by land, a distance of at least three hundred miles. For this formidable walk the only provisions now remaining were twenty pounds of flour, and

one pound of salt pork per man; and as to the flour, it was a dark-yellowish, brown mass, with a sour, fermented taste, and which nothing but absolute necessity could compel any one to eat. Yet they all set forward with stout hearts. The Captain did not disguise from them the many difficulties of the undertaking, and advised them to carry nothing with them but what was absolutely necessary. Mr. Walker took charge of one of the pocket-chronometers, Coles and Auger took another between them; they also agreed to carry a large sextant by turns; and Rustan took care of a pocket-sextant. Kaibu, the native, carried the Captain's gun; the Captain took charge of his own charts, papers, and some smaller instruments. Mr. Smith carried his sketch-book and colours. Captain Grey proposed to walk slowly but continuously for an hour, then to rest ten minutes, and thus to break the fatigue of the journey.

They commenced this journey on the 2nd of April, but the men had encumbered themselves each with a great load of things from the boat, which Captain Grey found it impossible to persuade them to fling away; and they were proportionably fatigued. Their strength soon began to fail, yet nothing could induce them to abandon their burdens. To add to the ill effects, neither the men nor the two gentlemen appear to have had anything which they could have converted into a tent to protect them from the heavy night dews, and Captain Grey complains that after a day of laborious walking in the heat he arose in the mornings soaked through his clothes with the dew, and miserably chilled. Sometimes traversing sand, rocky and scrubby districts, sometimes fertile valleys, they came, on the 5th of April, upon a river, which they named the Hutt, from the new Governor of Western Australia. The country abounded with natives, whose huts were often in considerable villages, and of a much superior construction to those of Southern Australia, being much larger, more strongly built, and very nicely plastered on the outside with clay

and clods of turf. They had also well-marked roads, sunken wells, and extensive *warran* grounds.

They came near the Hutt to two remarkable, flat-topped hills, which they named Mount Victoria and Mount Albert. Soon after they came upon barren plains, with red sand-stone rocks and grass-trees, Xanthorrhea. The flats about the main stream of the Hutt they found, however, very fertile. The progress of the men became slower and slower. In vain did Captain Grey warn them that the only chance of avoiding starvation was to make a steady, if not a great progress every day. If they lingered and paused on the road their provisions would be entirely consumed, and nothing could save them. But, unfortunately, they had taken up a theory that it was better to husband their strength by not going far each day, and they went staggering along under large loads of things of very little value, such as old canvas, and the like. On the 7th of April they entered on a most fertile and beautiful country, which they named the Province of Victoria, abounding with streams, yet lying high, and apparently of a great extent. Captain Grey thought he had seen no part of tropical Australia which had so large an extent of good country. Amid the beauty of the region through which they passed, they almost forgot their hunger and their fatigue. They crossed a river which they named the Buller. Here Tom Stiles, who had been foremost in the doctrine of leisurely travelling with a failing scrip, was missing. He had purposely fallen behind, and cost them much delay and exertion in hunting him up, but, fortunately, a number of natives making their appearance on the Mount Fairfax of Captain King, frightened him back to his party.

The natives made strange caperings and gesticulations, and their conjurers blew strongly at them to expel them by their magic. Soon after they crossed a river five-and-twenty yards wide, which they named the Greenough, and the following day the dry channel of another, which they named Irwin, near which for the first time they

found zamia trees. They travelled through a fertile country, but yet suffering much from want of water. On the 9th of April they reached Water Peak.

Finding the men more and more averse to steadily moving forward, Captain Grey here compelled them to destroy all the unnecessary articles they were lugging along with them, and he then informed them that inevitable death was the doom of them all, unless some of the most active went with all the speed that their present debility permitted them, and sent back provisions to meet them. Their whole stock of flour was reduced to five or six pounds each man. Captain Grey himself had only one-and-a-half pounds, and half a pound of arrow-root. They were obliged often for water to suck the dew from the grass, and the leaves of trees; and they were still 190 miles from Perth. The native had no flour at all, and was obliged to depend on the captain's miserable modicum. Occasionally the captain shot a crow, and with a few wild herbs made a repast without drawing on the flour, but such success was uncertain; and his sight and hand were becoming so unsteady, that he despaired soon of being able to hit anything he shot at. He therefore determined to take with him Coles, Auger, H. Woods, Hackney, and Kaibu the native, and post on towards Perth with all the speed desperation could give them. Behind he left Mr. Walker, Mr. Smith, Ruston, C. Woods, Tom Stiles, and Clotworthy.

It was agreed that the place of rendezvous for the party left behind, and the relief party to be sent, should be the Moore River, at about twelve miles from the sea, this river being about fifty-five miles to the north of Perth. Poor Smith was at this time in a very delicate state of health, indeed, he seems never to have been quite well since the boats were swamped at Dorre Island. He had there plunged into the water, and swam to and fro with such ardour, doing all that he possibly could to rescue the boats and stores, and then being exposed in his wet clothes, that added to the constant hardships that succeeded, it was too much for him. The

sight of his sickly face, says Captain Grey, at this moment of parting, and the courage and gentleness which had strongly endeared him to them all, made him anxious to be on the march, to send help to him. As Smith squeezed his hand, he begged Grey to send out a horse for him, and some tobacco, for the only thing that he dreaded, he said, was want of water.

Captain Grey left with his party, the cooking saucepan, and the only hatchet that they had, as if they came into a grass-tree country, they might subsist on the tops of these trees, as Mr. George Elliot had done for fourteen days on his route from the Williams River to Leschenault. They left them also some fish-hooks. The hatchet they threw away on the second day after Captain Grey left them. Once more impressing on them the necessity of strict subordination, and all the speed that their failing strength would allow, he set forward: many of the remaining party being in such confidence, that they bade him take care that they were not in Perth first.

Soon after leaving the second detachment of the party, they came upon the dry bed of a large river, which they named Arrowsmith, after the celebrated geographer, which, like so many other Australian rivers, terminated in a lake at its mouth. They saw also a range further inland, the chief peak of which they named Mount Horner, after Leonard Horner. On the second day of their separate journey, April 12th, one of the men made the captain's remaining flour into a damper, and during the night a rat eat more than half of it, an enormous loss in such circumstances; and as the native was wholly unacquainted with the sorts of edible roots which grew in that part of the country, he had to depend entirely on the captain's little store. He was besides become so weak and dispirited, as to be incapable of seeking for his food.

The next day they saw Mount Perron distant about two-and-twenty miles. That day at noon they eat the last of the captain's damper, and it had been such a

continual temptation to him, that he felt glad when it was gone. Their way had hitherto been chiefly over barren and sandy plains. In the afternoon they reached a range of hills which they named the Gairdner Range. Here they found some zamia nuts, which some of the men imprudently eat without their being sufficiently dry, and consequently suffered much from vomiting and vertigo. While sitting gnawed by hunger, and the men were preparing to eat a small portion of their remaining damper, he heard Hackney propose to Woods to give the captain a little, as he had none, and as there was no fire to cook any of his arrowroot. The native was gone to look for some zamia nuts. Woods replied, the captain must take care of himself, but Hackney went up and offered him a bit of damper about the size of a walnut, which much affected him, and the next day shooting a hawk, he returned Hackney's kindness with interest. These were great events in that season of starvation.

The following day Kaibu found a native hoard of By-yu nuts, and though so hard driven, they were too conscientious to take more than a portion of them. Their way still lay over a dry and waterless country, and their faintness and sufferings became intense. They now crossed the dry bed of another stream, which they named the Smith River, after their suffering friend, and searched in vain for a drop of water; even a native well seven feet deep, and holes twenty feet deep were perfectly dry. The men crawled on listlessly to a tea-tree swamp some miles onward, but all was still dry, and they lay down at night in the sufferings of extremest thirst and hunger, while Kaibu sat shouting to himself native songs, which seemed to intimate that he thought death was not far of, as—

"Thither, mother, oh, I return again,
Thither, oh, I return again."

And,

"Whither does that lone ship wander?
My young man I shall never see again.
Whither does that lone ship wander?"

The men had now been two days and two nights, and it was approaching the third night, without any water, except a little dew which they had sucked from the shrubs and reeds in the early morning, when the captain set off with Kaibu in desperation to hunt for water. The men themselves were so completely exhausted by hunger, thirst, and intense heat, that they could only be got on a few steps at a time, and then always begged to be allowed to sit down again. Their search was in vain, and Kaibu proposed to the captain to abandon the men, and go on without them, as they might hope by shooting something to save themselves, but could not save the party. The captain sternly commanded him to lead the way back to the men, but he pretended to have lost himself, but the captain told him that unless he quickly led the way he would shoot him, and if he attempted to outrun him he would shoot him, whereupon he soon found the way back.

The horrors of that night convinced the captain that none of them could exist much longer unless they reached water. His sight and hearing were failing; he could scarcely recognise the voices of those around him; and on moving, he felt a most distressing sensation, as if all his blood were rushing to his head. On starting next morning, he fully believed that that day's march would to some of them be the last, and he entreated them, if possible, to keep together, and to exert themselves to the uttermost, for, if any were left behind, the rest could not return to seek for them. They then flung away all possible remaining incumbrances, even the large and very valuable sextant that Coles and Auger carried between them. "Then," says Captain Grey, "we moved slowly on in sad procession, and never shall I forget the wild and haggard looks of those that followed me. Reason had began to hold but a very slight influence over some, yet not a word of complaint was heard as to the plan I pursued, or the route I took; but they all reeled and staggered after me, the silence being only broken by groans and exclamations. I pursued a slow uniform

pace in a strait line for Perth, the same sandy, sterile country, thinly clothed with banksias, being around us." —Vol. ii. p. 79.

In a little more than an hour, however, they reached the dried-up bed of a sedgy swamp, marked with the footsteps of native men, women, and children, who had evidently been in the same quest of water. The poor, worn-out wretches dispersed in eager search for some glimpse of the precious fluid; they found several native wells, but all dry! At length Kaibu made a private sign to Captain Grey to go to him, and then disappeared by dropping among the reeds. On reaching the place, the captain found him with his face buried in a little hole of moist mud, where he was drinking in the thick puddle insatiably. Captain Grey seized him by the hair, and pulled his head back, for he was already bloated with the slush, and called the other men to get a share. For himself he could not swallow the mud, but strained a little through his handkerchief, and thus derived some relief. The men soon drained the puddle, and then scraped it out, and sate watching for more moisture to ooze up, which fortunately it did. There the captain left them, watching and sucking alternately for their lives, and retired apart a little to return thanks to God for his great providence. He then tottered on with his gun to endeavour to shoot some of the many birds congregating around the spot, thus testifying to the dryness of the whole neighbourhood. But his hand shook so that he could not take aim, and the anticipated horrors of certain starvation fell on him.

Anon, however, he managed to shoot a cockatoo. The next day they reached a stream of excellent water, and found in it abundance of fresh-water muscles. To all but Kaibu this was a grand relief, but though the native was near dying of hunger, he would not touch one, from a superstitious notion that by eating them he should subject himself to the absolute power of boylas, or evil sorcerers. He was in great terror at seeing the others devour them, and that night, fierce drenching rain, with

thunder and lightning, setting in, and rendering them excessively chill and miserable, he vehemently upbraided them for eating the muscles, chanting gloomily :—

"Oh, wherefore would they eat the muscles ?
Now boylas storms and thunder make.
Oh, wherefore would they eat the muscles ?"

From this hour, nevertheless, they were saved. Crawling painfully forward, in two days they came up with friendly natives, who cooked plenty of frogs and turtle for them, and one of them named Imbat, as he cooked for the captain, was full of chatter and fun, and would have been very amusing to a less hungry man. "What for do you who have plenty to eat, and much money, walk so far away in the bush?" "I felt," says Captain Grey, "amazingly annoyed at this question, and, therefore, did not answer him. 'You are thin,' said he; 'your shanks are long; your belly is small: you had plenty to eat at home, why did you not stop there?' I was vexed with his personalities, besides which it is impossible to make a native understand your love of travel: I, therefore, replied, 'Imbat, you comprehend nothing; you know nothing.' 'I know nothing!' answered he; 'I know how to keep myself fat. The young women look at me, and say, Imbat is very handsome, he is fat—they look at you, and say, He is not good, long legs; what do you know? where is your fat? what for do you know so much, if you can't keep fat? I know how to stay at home, and not walk too far in the bush—where is your fat?' 'You know how to talk—long tongue,' was my reply; upon which, forgetting his anger, he burst into a roar of laughter, and saying, 'And I know how to make you fat,' began stuffing me with frogs, barde and ly-yu nuts."

The next morning Captain Grey started alone for Perth, leaving the rest of the party to recruit their strength. He reached the town in the course of the day, the 21st of April. He had been twenty days on this terrible journey of hunger, thirst, heat, and anxiety, and on entering Perth, dirty, haggard, and ragged, not a soul

of his acquaintance knew him. When he accosted them, as he marched up to the government house, they started back from so spectral an apparition, and said, "Who are you?" The Governor was equally astonished and shocked when Captain Grey was announced, and such an object presented itself. But not an hour was lost in sending off a party to find and succour the party left with Mr. Walker. In two days Lieutenant Mortimer and Mr. Spofforth were on the Moore River seeking for the sufferers. They could only fall in with Charles Woods, who had got a-head of his companions, and was found lying in the last stage of exhaustion. Unfortunately they could not discover the rest, and returned to Perth for want of provisions, when a fresh party was sent off under Mr. Roe, the surveyor-general, and Mr. Spofforth. But it was now the 8th of May, and it was not till the 16th that they fell in with the missing men, all except Mr. Walker, who had already made his way to Perth; thus, from the 25th of April, when Lieutenant Mortimer reached the Moore River, to the 16th of May, when the party was fallen in with, three weeks had elapsed, and this delay had proved fatal to poor Smith—even two or three of these days at most would have saved him.

The poor youth's strength had been fast ebbing away, when Mr. Walker determined to make a grand effort to push on, and reach Perth as the only means of hastening help, and saving him. It was too late; he found it impossible to keep up with the rest, and lay down to die. Mr. Roe, in his report, gives the following affecting account of the discovery of his body:—"The morrow's dawn found me on my way, with Kinchela and Warrup, the natives, to search for poor Smith, while Mr. Spofforth proceeded with the three rescued men and Wyip to join our party at Kadjelup, twelve miles off. At the distance of a mile and a half we found the guns of Mr. Walker and Mr. Smith, which the men had buried among the sand-hills from inability to carry them any further. A close scrutiny of the beach brought us, at the end of ten miles, to a spot where Warrup observed

the traces of feet in the sand. Following them up, they ascended a bare sand-hill to the height of twelve or fourteen feet, turned short round to the left, and there terminated at the unfortunate object of our search, extended on his back, lifeless, in the midst of a thick bush, where he seemed to have laid himself down to sleep, half enveloped in his blanket. The poor fellow's last bed appeared to have been selected by himself; and at the distance of three or four yards from him lay all the trifling articles which had constituted his travelling equipage. These were his wooden canteen, his brown felt hat, and haversack, containing his journal, shoes, tinder, steel, gun-screw, a few small canvas bags, which he had used for carrying shell-fish, and a small bag with needles, thread, and buttons. Life seemed to have been extinct rather more than two days; and from the position of the head, which had fallen considerably below the level of the body, we were led to conclude that a rush of blood into the brain had caused his death, and at last without much suffering. With the help of the soldier and Warrup, we made a grave with our hands, and buried poor Smith deep in the sand-hill, near the shore, about seventy-six miles to the north of Swan River. Even Warrup, notwithstanding the general apathy of the native character, wept like a child over the untimely fate of this young man, from whom he had formerly received kindness. Smoothing over his solitary bed, and placing at the head of his grave a piece of wood found upon the beach, we pursued our melancholy way."

Mr. Roe adds, that had relief been delayed only a few hours, not only Frederick Smith, but the whole party must have perished. Captain Grey adds;—"I deeply regretted the death of poor Frederick Smith, who had come out from England expressly for the purpose of joining me, led solely by the spirit of enterprise, and not with any view of settling. He was the most youthful of the party, being only eighteen years of age, and thence was less capable than the others of bearing up

against long continued want and fatigue, and the excessive heat of the climate, under which he gradually wasted away, until death terminated his sufferings. When aroused by danger, or stimulated by a sense of duty, he was as bold as a lion, while his manner to me was ever gentleness itself, as, indeed, it was to all."—Vol. ii. pp. 12—15.

Warrup the native's own account of the discovery of the remains of Mr. Smith is very touching:—"Away, away we go—I, Mr. Roe, and Kinchela—along the shore away, along the shore away, along the shore away. We see a paper, the paper of Mortimer and Spofforth. Away we go; we see no fresh water; along the shore away, along the shore away. Away, away we go, along the shore away, away, away, a long distance we go. I see Mr. Smith's footsteps ascending a sand-hill: onward I go, regarding his footsteps. I see Mr. Smith dead. We commence digging the earth.

"Two sleeps had he been dead: greatly did I weep, and much I grieved. In his blanket folding him, we scraped away the earth. We scraped earth into the grave, we scrape the earth into the grave, a little wood we place in it. Much earth we heap upon it—much earth we throw up. No dogs can dig there, so much earth we throw up. The sun had just inclined to the westward as we laid him in the ground."—P. 350.

Captain Grey sums up the results of this most sorrowful journey of discovery thus:—"Ten rivers, which are, when considered with reference to the other known ones of Western Australia of considerable importance, were discovered, some of them being larger than any yet found in the south-west of this continent. These are: the Gascoyne, Murchison, Hutt, Bower, Buller, Chapman, Grenough, Irwin, Arrowsmith, and Smith. Many smaller streams were also found.

Two mountain ranges were discovered, one at the northern extremity of the Darling Range, to which I gave the name of the Victoria and Albert Range; and about thirty miles to the eastward of it, lofty, and alto-

gether differing from the Darling, which is called Moresby's Flat-topped Range. From Mount Perron and Mount Lesneur, then southward Gairdner's and Smith's Ranges, to the Narcott River, a very important feature in this part of Australia.

Three extensive districts of good country were also found, the Victoria district, that of Babbage, and another adjacent to Perth, which he did not name. The district of Babbage is on and near the Gascoyne. The large drift wood brought down by the Gascoyne and other rivers on this coast show that the timber is of a much lighter description than was before known on this continent. Within a few weeks after Captain Grey's return to Perth applications were made to the Governor to occupy stations about the Hutt river, which were not, however, then granted, but a vessel was sent to examine and report on the condition of the entrances to the different rivers: and a good report was made of Port Grey, near the southern extremity of Moresby's Flat-topped Range. Some of the discoveries in natural history during this expedition have been noticed, but a full statement of them will be found in Captain Grey's Appendix to his second volume.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE EXPEDITIONS OF MR. EYRE INTO CENTRAL AUSTRALIA, AND OVERLAND FROM ADELAIDE TO KING GEORGE'S SOUND, IN THE YEARS 1840-1.

Expedition of Mr. Eyre to Central Australia, and King George's Sound.—Founding of South Australia.—Mr. Eyre's previous expeditions.—Proposal of an expedition overland to Swan River.—Mr. Eyre shows the difficulty of it.—A northern expedition resolved on.—Mr. Eyre's party.—Started in June, 1840.—Journey to Lake Torrens.—A country of drought.—Lake Torrens nearly dry.—Reach Mount Hopeless.—Vast barren plains.—Mount Distance.—Blanchewater.—Dreary, waterless country.—He turns back.—Sends the drays by Gawler's Ranges to Streaky Bay.—Fresh supplies from Adelaide.—The Water-Witch sent with supplies to Streaky Bay.

FOUNDING OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

THIS took place in 1837, and was organized upon the plan of Gibbon Wakefield, of selling the land to import labour. The same false hopes of establishing a colonial aristocratic life were thus encouraged. People bought large tracts of land, intending to build grand houses upon them. As no small lots of land were to be sold, it was thought that labourers brought over with the proceeds of the land-sales would always remain labourers, and that the land-owners would have nothing to do but live and enjoy themselves on their property. But this scheme was so utterly opposed to human nature, and especially English human nature, that it failed, and terrible distress ensued. Colonel Gawler, the Governor, had to employ the people on public works to prevent their general starvation. The company fell into debt; Government had to advance a large sum to enable the colony to carry on. A more reasonable system of selling small lots of land created a substantially prosperous race of small land-owners, and the discovery of the copper-mines at once raised the colony to prosperity.

JOURNEY NORTHWARDS INTO THE INTERIOR.

Mr. Eyre, in entering on the narrative of his expe-

ditions, informs us that for eight years he had been resident in Australia, during which he had visited many of the located parts of New South Wales, Port Phillip, South Australia, and Van Diemen's Land. In the consecutive years from 1836 to 1840, he had conducted expeditions across from Liverpool Plains in New South Wales to the county of Murray, from Sydney to Port Phillip, from Port Phillip to Adelaide, in which he was followed by Messrs. Hawdon and Bonney. Afterwards he went from King George's Sound to Swan River, besides undertaking several explorations towards the interior, both from Port Lincoln and from Adelaide. The knowledge and experience thus acquired, he justly observes, had given to his fellow colonists that confidence in him which recommend him as a proper leader in the further researches contemplated both into the interior northward, and westward towards King George's Sound. He might, with equal truth, have added that these expeditions had given him the necessary physical training and seasoning which are as indispensable for the endurance of the fatigues and privations of such enterprises, as knowledge and experience are for conducting them.

On returning, about the middle of May, 1840, from a visit to King George's Sound and Swan River, Mr. Eyre found public attention in Adelaide engaged on the question of the possibility of opening up an overland communication between that place and Western Australia. Captain Grey, on his return from his explorations on the Western Coast, had called at Adelaide, and had given a great deal of information regarding the capacity of Western Australia for receiving and pasturing stock. His notes on the subject had been published in the "South Australian Register" of the 22nd of March, 1840, and the owners of flocks and herds were greatly excited by the idea of such a new field for their sheep and cattle. A public meeting was immediately called, that is, on the 30th of that month, followed by others on the 4th, 7th, and 9th of April. A committee was formed, of which Captain Frome, Sur-

veyor-General of South Australia, was the chairman, and resolutions were drawn up and published, proposing an expedition for ascertaining the practicability of such an overland route, and the people of Western Australia were called upon to form a similar committee, and that subscriptions should be raised simultaneously for carrying out this project. Similar proposals were made to the Government of New South Wales. At one of the meetings of this committee we find as chairman the celebrated discoverer of the course of the Murray, Captain Sturt, then resident at Adelaide.

Mr. Eyre's own judgment was at this moment in favour of directing exploration towards the north, and the reasons which he gave in the South Australian Register of the 23rd of May, 1840, against an expedition westward, are so conclusive, that one wonders that he ever attempted afterwards to carry out such an expedition. "It may now be a question for those who are interested in the sending an expedition overland to Swan River, to consider what are likely to be the useful results from such a journey. In a geographical point of view it will be exceedingly interesting to know the character of the intervening country between this colony and theirs, and to unfold the secrets hidden by those lofty and singular cliffs at the head of the Great Bight; and so far, it might, perhaps, be practicable, since it is possible that a light party might, in a favourable season, force their way across. As regards the transit of stock, however, my own conviction is, that it is quite impracticable. The vast extent of desert country to the westward; the scarcity of grass; the denseness of the scrub; and the all but total absence of water, even in the most favourable seasons, are in themselves sufficient bars to the transit of stock, even to the distance we are already acquainted with."

Mr. Eyre, therefore, gave his decision for a northern expedition; and this was approved by the Governor, Colonel Gawler, who gave £100, and offered two horses, and the use of the colonial cutter, Waterwitch, to convey

stores to the head of Spencer's Gulf. The public subscribed £580, and Mr. Eyre generously contributed £680 out of his own pocket. On the 18th of June the party was prepared to set out. The party now consisted of

Mr. Eyre.
Mr. Scott, Assistant and companion.
John Baxter, Overseer.
Corporal Coles, Royal Sapper and Miner.
John Houston, driving a three-horse dray.
R. M'Robert, driving a three-horse dray.
Neramberein, Cootachah, } Aboriginal boys to drive the sheep, track, &c.

The Mr. Scott here mentioned, was Mr. Edward Bate Scott, an active young friend, who had already accompanied Mr. Eyre in his journey from King George's Sound to Swan River; and Corporal Coles is an old friend of the expeditions of Grey and Lushington, who was now in the service of Captain Frome, the Surveyor-General of the colony.

After a public breakfast, given him at Government House, Mr. Eyre directed his train northward, and pitched his first camp that night at Little Parra, about twelve miles from Adelaide. On the 4th of July they reached Mount Arden, at the head of Spencer's Gulf, where he left Mr. Scott to receive the stores from the Waterwitch, and rode on with one of the native boys, and a pack-horse carrying their provisions, to reconnoitre the country they would have to travel through. They had for some time had Flinders' Range running along to the eastward of their track. In about thirty-four miles of a ride through a miserable country, they came to the height standing out from the main range, which Colonel Gawler had named Mount Eyre, from its being the limit of Mr. Eyre's former journey to the north, in May, 1839. To the east ran high and rugged hills as far as the eye could see; to the west lay the southern extremity of Lake Torrens. The lake appeared about twenty-five miles off, and in riding to it, they passed

over a miserable, sandy country, destitute of any but salt water. The shore of the lake was like that of the ocean, standing up in a steep, sandy ridge, but destitute of rocks or stones. Successive saline coasts peeped out as they descended to the bed of the lake, which was dry, and coated with a glittering and snowy coat of salt. On stepping upon it, this coat gave way, revealing soft mud below, which soon became too deep to traverse. Mr. Eyre thought there was water in the bed of the lake at four or five miles distance, but such is the effect of mirage in such situations, that he could not be certain. The lake there appeared from fifteen to twenty miles wide.

From this time to July the 12th, they went on through the same sterile country, finding no water, as far as Mount Deception, part of a range not less than 3,000 feet high. Yet, though there were water-courses descending from these hills, they were all dry, even now, in the depth of winter. In the eastern hills they searched amongst rocks and stones, following up the empty water-courses, but with like result. All were dry, and being now 120 miles from their camp, they travelled back to it, where they arrived on the 21st. The extraordinary drought prevailing in these regions was evidently of more than one season's duration, for they found large gum-trees gradually dying along the empty water-courses, and no young ones growing up to replace them. They had found but one small water-hole amongst the hills, and thither Mr. Eyre determined to take forward his party.

Finding the stores all landed from the Waterwitch, Mr. Eyre sent letters by the vessel, and set forward with his whole party. From the 25th of July, to the evening of the 30th, they were travelling from Mount Arden to what he called Depôt Pool. From this place, Mr. Eyre again pushed forward on horseback, to see if he could find a fresh watering place, as far as Termination Hill, which he reached on August the 3rd, the country was still the same; the rocks composed principally of quartz, ironstone, and a kind of slaty rock, the lower

hills exhibiting grey lime-stone, and the loose stones on the hills looking like scoria or lava, but there were no traces of a volcano. It was a most hopeless country, and after penetrating to some distance eastward, from Termination Hill, into low stony plains covered with salsolaceous plants and samphire, he encountered some wretched natives. His horse being nearly destroyed by drought and want of grass, he put back to his camp.

Finding the water there exhausted, he made a desperate resolve to advance northwards, spite of all obstacles, and on the 8th of August travelled to the dry bed of the Scott, twenty miles. Here leaving the party, he again went forward, with a light cart filled with water-kegs, determined to go as far north as possible, leaving word with the overseer to dig for water, and carry on as well as they could. In this desperate effort he persevered for 100 miles through the same arid, hopeless country. Here he thought he saw Lake Torrens bending round to the eastward, and thus cutting off his progress northward. This, however, is now known to be Lake Blanch, which extends far north, then sweeps round westward, considerably beyond the northern extremity of Torrens. Disheartened by this impression, he returned to the camp at the Scott, which he reached on the 16th of August. During his absence, he found the overseer had, in endeavouring to procure information from the natives, captured one of the women, from whom, however, he could learn nothing, and this had so exasperated the blacks, that they were hovering around the encampment, including women and children, to the number of fifty or sixty.

No water being found here by digging, Mr. Eyre sent a party to a distance, where he had seen a little on the 5th of August. On the 21st they returned with water, and then Mr. Eyre and Mr. Scott made another excursion to Lake Torrens, where they ascertained that it still trended N.W., that it had still a high-ridged shore, and was dry for a distance across of at least six miles. On the 25th of August they broke up camp,

and steered N.E., and found, to their delight, water in a stream, which they called Munday. Thence they made an excursion on horseback to a hill about 3000 feet above the level of the sea, which they named Mount Serle. From this hill ran another actual stream of good water which they named the Frome after the surveyor-general. Ascending Mount Serle, they saw vast level plains, extending northward from west to east. Flinders' Range appeared to terminate to the north-eastward of Serle at about fifteen miles distance; and away east stretched a low scrubby-looking country, between the mount and what Eyre imagined to be the eastern arm of the Torrens. He believed it impossible to get further north in this direction from want of grass and water. Yet he made another effort, accompanied by one of the native boys on horseback, and passing some rocky defiles, with cliffs from six to eight hundred feet high, they came out from the great plains. These were as barren as ever, but they obtained water by a fall of rain, and reached a hill on the 2nd of September, which they named Mount Distance. From its summit they saw another hill like a hay-cock, far to the N.E., for which they steered. At the distance of thirty-five miles they reached it, and from the view it gave, named it Mount Hopeless.

They now saw that they were past all the ranges; for three-quarters of the compass, extending from the south round by east and north to west, the horizon was one unbroken level, except where the fragments of table-land, or the ridge of the lake intercepted its uniformity. The lake, which Mr. Eyre still imagined to be the Torrens, but which was in fact, still the Blanch, appeared to him to sweep round to the north-west to the western arm of Torrens. It was in fact, the north-eastern sweep of Lake Gregory, and at some distance north-east of Mount Hopeless, he would have found the opening between Blanch and Gregory, afterwards discovered by Gregory. Imagining, however, all this great circle of waters, or at least of the beds of salt

lakes, to be the Torrens, he made the following reflections:—"The lake was now visible to the north and to the east; and I had at last ascertained, beyond all doubt, that its basin commencing near the head of Spencer's Gulf, and following the course of Flinders' Range, bending round its northern extreme to the southward, constituted those hills, the termination of the island of South Australia, for such I imagine it once to have been. This closed all my dreams as to the expedition, and put an end to an undertaking from which so much was anticipated. I had now a view before me that would have damped the ardour of the most enthusiastic, or dissipated the doubts of the most sceptical. To the showers that fell on the eve of the 31st of August, we were solely indebted for having been able to travel so far; had there been much more rain the country would have been impassable for horses, if less, we could not have procured water to have enabled us to make such a push as we had done."—Vol. i., p. 128.

Having traced the real Lake Torrens from near the head of Spencer's Gulf, to its northern extremity, an outline of nearly 200 miles, Mr. Eyre continues:—"Having ascertained these particulars, and at so much hazard, relative to Lake Torrens, for so great a part of its course, what conclusion could I arrive at with regard to the character of its other half to the north-east of Flinders' Ranges, as seen from Mount Hopeless and Mount Serle, points nearly ninety miles apart! The appearances from the ranges were similar; the trend of the watercourses was to the same basin, and undoubtedly that basin if traced far enough, must be of nearly the same level on the eastern as on the western side of the ranges. I had completely ascertained that Flinders' Ranges had terminated to the eastward, the north-east, and the north; that there were no hills or elevations connected with it beyond any of these directions, and that the horizon everywhere, was one low, uninterrupted level."—Vol. i., p. 129.

Inferring that where there were no hills, there would

be no water, Mr. Eyre deemed all further attempt to proceed northward utterly hopeless, and he with deep disappointment, turned his face homewards. In fact, many a brave man had yet to try his adventurous spirit in that great northern desert. Penetrating from one side and then another, and some of them laying their lives down in it, they have since made great inroads into it, and more than one track across it from sea to sea.

Mr. Eyre was now more than a hundred miles north of his party, and he had already ordered them to be on their backward way towards Mount Arden. He had penetrated upwards of three hundred miles northward from Adelaide. On the 3rd of September, he commenced his retrograde course, and on the 6th he had not only come up with his party, but he had put it also in motion. One of their best horses having his leg broken by a kick from another, had to be shot, and delayed them a little, but the weather being cooled by rain, on the 12th they had reached the depôt at Mount Arden. On the way, Mr. Eyre reflected deeply on the frustration of this expedition by this route, and determined to attempt reaching the north by some other. At first his mind turned to the plan of ascending the Murray and Darling, and striking northward thence; but finally it settled in aiming at the same object by a western course. He resolved to strike from Mount Arden across to Streaky Bay, and then pushing westward to see whether some favourable opening of country would not enable him to veer northwards.

Crossing the head of Spencer's Gulf on the 13th of September, to Baxter's Ranges, he thence despatched the overseer and the drays by way of Gawler's Ranges to Streaky Bay, Nuyt's Archipelago, there to wait for him, and, with Mr. Scott, he went down to Port Lincoln to endeavour to obtain fresh supplies. The greater part of the country over which he travelled was most wretched, some of it apparently only fine, white dust, in which the wheels of his cart sunk deep, and sent up

smothering clouds. As he camped one night the natives stole close up to him, and carried off a variety of his things. They found water and grass at some rocks, which he named Refuge Rocks. They obtained grass and water again at a hill called by Flinders Bluff Mount, and by Colonel Gawler, Mount Hill. On the 1st of October they were at Mr. Driver's Station, where a Mr. Dutton was the overseer, who, two years later, in attempting to take some cattle from this station to the head of Spencer's Gulf, the very route now passed over by Messrs. Eyre and Scott, perished, with his whole party, as supposed, from want of water, though the cattle found their way back.

No stores being obtainable at Port Lincoln, Mr. Scott passed over in an open boat to Adelaide, where the Governor sent out the Water-Witch with abundance of supplies. The Water-Witch being put at Mr. Eyre's disposal along the coast westward, was despatched to Streaky Bay, and himself and Mr. Scott, with a fresh man, Thomas Costelow, who was sent out, set off overland, having purchased two good kangaroo dogs. One of these was soon lost. The country to Streaky Bay was of the same wretched description, and only diversified by an occasional hill, or lake, for the most part salt. Of the hills, Mount Wedge, Hall, and Cooper; of the lakes, Hamilton and Newland were the chief.

CHAPTER XXV.

OVERLAND JOURNEY TO KING GEORGE'S SOUND.

Set out from Streaky Bay the 6th of November.—Cut their way with axes through the scrub.—Smoky Bay.—A mound-bird's nest with large eggs.—Wretched waterless country.—Fowler's Bay.—Mr. Eyre goes with a small party to try to reach the head of the Bight.—Dreadful journey.—Three horses perish.—They bury most of their stores.—Get back exhausted to Fowler's Bay.—Resolved yet to make another attempt.—Mr. Eyre sent back part of his party in the Water-Witch, and again set out.—Ever the same frightful country.—Again turned back to Fowler's Bay.—Advices from Adelaide to give up the undertaking, but he set out on horse-back, with one white, three native boys, nine horses, one Timor pony, and six sheep.—Still more horrible journey.—Abandon pack-saddles, water-kegs, fire-arms, ammunition, etc.—Brush the dew from the bushes—cut roots for water.—Kill their last sheep.—Kill a horse, and dry the flesh.—The overseer murdered by the black boys.—Still 500 miles from King George's Sound.—Specimen of native veracity.—Reach Mount Ragged.—Shoot a kangaroo.—The black guide's supper.—Traces of Europeans.—A ship's name cut on a tree.—Reach the Russell Ranges.—The break in the country for 500 miles.—Cape Arid.—A pool of rain-water.—Another example of the black boy's selfishness.—A vessel in view in Thistle Cove.—The vessel French.—Mr. Eyre hospitably entertained by Captain Rossiter.—Supplied with stores.—The journey renewed, and Albany reached on the 26th of July.—On this journey no water had been found on the surface for 800 miles, and seven days the horses were without water altogether.—The great thing demonstrated was the hopelessness of the route.—Captain Frome's journey to Mount Serle in 1843.—Mr. Eyre's subsequent fortunes.

At Streaky Bay the stores in the drays on land were sent on board the Water-Witch, except the provisions necessary to reach Fowler's Bay with, and the cutter was ordered to await the party there. On the 6th of November the party set forward on this most formidable journey. Their way lay immediately through a dense mallee scrub, in which they had to clear a way with axes; and they arrived at Smoky Bay on the 8th, with their horses greatly jaded, and the men not less so. The Water-Witch, however, on her way had landed them water there. They could not move on again till the 10th, when an old native, named Wilguldy, accompanied them. On the way they came to the nest of a mound-bird, and Wilguldy, and some of his fellows who had followed, soon dived into its heap of sand and produced four fine eggs, as large as goose eggs, which, when

cooked, were of a delicious flavour. They reached Fowler's Bay on the 17th, through the same sort of sandy, sterile country, where, as at Berinyana Gaippe, and Mobeela Gaippe, they could only procure water by digging to a depth of ten or fourteen feet in loose sand, that was continually falling in again. The men and horses were all knocked up on arriving here. The only refreshment that they had found on the way was in the fruit of the Mesembryanthemum, which delights in hot sandy deserts. The fruit is rich, juicy, and sweet, of about the size of a gooseberry, and the natives flock to the places of its growth in the season, and live much upon it. There were plenty of natives about the party here, but all very friendly. The pasture for the horses and sheep, however, was very bad.

Whilst stores were landing from the Water-Witch, Mr. Eyre set out on horse-back, accompanied by a native, and having a pack-horse, to examine the track which they would have to follow along the coast westward. They proceeded for a couple of days through rough scrub, and amongst salt lakes, finding not a drop of water, and were obliged to return to save the lives of the horses, one of them being too exhausted to get back to the camp, and water had to be sent to recover him. When the men reached him with the dray and water, he had been four days and nights without water or food.

After resting himself a little, Mr. Eyre walked round the camp, and found it pitched at the west side of the upper extreme point of Fowler Bay, immediately behind the sand-drifts of the coast, which there were high, bare, and of white sand. The men had found water by digging on the inland side of the sand-hills for two or three feet into a bed of pipe-clay. To the north lay some open, grassy plains, where the horses could obtain their food; and here and there were salt swamps, or the beds of dry, salt lakes. The whole country was of fossil formation, and the borders of the lakes and swamps exhibited indurated masses of marine shells, apparently

but of recent deposit. Further inland, the country was crusted on the surface with an oolitic limestone, and for the most part covered with brush, a few open plains being interspersed here and there amongst the scrubs, as is generally the case in that description of country.

Here Mr. Eyre determined to leave the main party, whilst he made another attempt to get round the bight. He sent before him a dray with three horses, carrying seventy gallons of water, and also a man in advance of the dray to clear away the worst of the scrub from the track. Mr. Eyre, one man, and one native boy, then went on. The natives who came about them assured them that there was no water to the westward, except at a very great distance; yet from the 29th of November to the 5th of December, they dragged on through heat and sand, and drought. On the way one of the horses gave in, and Mr. Eyre left the man with him and the dray, and pushed on with the others, carrying water with them. They were compelled, however, soon to return to the man and the dray. Here they wished to leave the dray, and bury all the stores, except such as were absolutely necessary; but a number of natives sat watching them for nearly a whole day. When hunger at length took them away, they buried the stores, and made a fire over them to destroy the fresh marks in the sand. They then went on again, with the two horses loaded with provisions and water. Again they were compelled to halt, and save their suffering horses by giving them gruel, their mouths being dried up with thirst. Three of them died, and the two others were so completely debilitated, that they had to send back to Fowler's Bay for five fresh ones. These arrived, in care of Mr. Scott, on the 10th of December, the invalided ones were sent back, and once more Mr. Eyre and the two men and native boy set forward to reach the dray. They passed their three dead horses lying by the way, and on coming up with the dray, they dug up such things, as pack-saddles and the like, which they did not want to take further westward, but buried other provi-

sions, Mr. Eyre still resolving to break through this horrible country, for what purpose it might be asked; and he had himself already answered, that it could be for no other than to show that the route would be utterly impracticable as a cattle route, or for any purpose of commerce.

On the 13th of December they had again reached the camp at Fowler's Bay, with the dray, and with all their horses in sorry plight. Three of them being harnessed to the empty dray, though they had not been worked for some time previously, only dragged it through this hideous desert twenty-two miles in ten hours. Resolved, however, to make another desperate attempt to get round the Bight, Mr. Eyre now had the stores landed from the Waterwitch, and sent back in it to Adelaide, one of the drays, three sets of horse-harness, and two of the men, Coles and Houston. There now remained only himself, Mr. Scott, Baxter, the overseer, and the two native boys, and with them nine horses and a few sheep. They remained in camp till the 30th of December, when Mr. Eyre, with a man driving the dray with a team of three horses, and himself, the overseer, and one native boy on horseback, once more set off to round the Bight if possible. In this endeavour, by incredible labour, by burying a cask of water at different intervals on their route to at once lighten the load of their horses, and to supply them with the fluid on their return; by digging arduously in the sand for water they accomplished this object. They arrived at some distance beyond a point which the natives called Yeer-Kumban-Kauwe. But they found the same frightful country of sand and desolation. Along the coast ran continuous cliffs of three or four hundred feet elevation, which had been noticed by Flinders. The upper portion of these cliffs consisted of oolitic limestone, below this a stratum of hard, reddish sandstone, full of shells and pebbles, and again a lower kind of grey limestone, and under this another of a white, or cream-coloured substance, which they could not get down to. These cliffs were awfully undermined

by the waves and tempests, and enormous masses had been detached and lay on the beach below. The country lying back from the sea was totally level, without a single tree, covered by salsolæ, or prickly shrubs, or the dense mallee scrub. The whole of its surface was coated with small, fresh-water, spinal shells, and farther on with innumerable pieces of flint. Farther back were patches of grass which were now dry and sapless. Occasionally they were regaled with a fruit growing on a low, brambly-looking bush, of the size of an English sloe, but oblong, and having a pyramidal stone in the centre. It is very pulpy and juicy, and is sometimes a dark purple, at others bright red or yellow. The natives feast upon this fruit when in season, swallowing stone and all. It is said to grow also on the lower slopes of the Murrumbidgee, but in far greater abundance in these western deserts.

Having penetrated about fifty miles beyond Yeer-Kumban-Kauwe, on the 11th of January they turned back to Fowler's Bay, which they reached on the 17th, both themselves and horses in a most worn out condition. The whole distance gone was but 135 miles, which Mr. Eyre thinks might have been done in ten days, had the watering-places, or the nature of the country been previously known. Yet according to his own calculation, these repeated attempts to accomplish this distance, had cost him three horses, besides greatly damaging all the rest. It had compelled him to travel backwards and forwards 643 miles, and consumed 40 days; the eldest native boy had gone 395 miles in 23 days; the younger boy, 270 miles in 19 days; the overseer, 230 miles in 22 days; and Mr. Scott, 50 miles in 4 days. A dray loaded with water was drawn backwards and forwards 238 miles, and for a considerable part of the distance the whole party had been obliged to walk, from the fatigue of the horses.

In nine days after their return to Fowler's Bay, the Hero, a cutter sent in the place of the Waterwitch, which had proved leaky, arrived from Adelaide, bringing

stores, and Wylie, a native of King George's Sound, whom Mr. Eyre had sent for, as likely to know the language of the blacks in that quarter. But the Hero was only chartered for service within the limits of South Australia, and could not attend along the coast at different points with their supplies. Under these circumstances it was impossible to convey the whole party, with pack-horses through the desert to King George's Sound, much less was it possible to proceed with the carts. Most men, after the terrific experience which Mr. Eyre had just had of the country westward, would have given it up; for certainly, even if they succeeded in forcing a passage like that of the North-Western one of Polar America, it could be of no possible social or commercial use. Mr. Eyre, however, felt that the expedition from which so much had been expected, had been, both northward and westward, a failure, and he formed a desperate resolution that he would accomplish the passage to the Sound, if it cost him his life. He therefore sent back his young friend, Mr. Scott, and the only other man now left of the government party, by the Hero; he also sent on board with them the three kangaroo dogs, which he did not expect could live through the arid country which they would have to traverse; and reserving Baxter, his overseer, and the three native boys, he resolved to dare the enterprise on his own account. As he and his small party remained at Fowler's Bay till the 23rd of February, allowing the horses to recruit themselves on the corn and bran which had been brought out for them, and in making their preparations for this formidable journey, Mr. Scott arrived again from Adelaide with letters from the Governor and from many of his friends, pressing him to abandon all idea of the journey, and return to Adelaide, as the scheme was universally considered as little short of madness. But though Mr. Eyre had made an excursion to some distance northwards, and found the country there, too, of the same forbidding character, he had staked his life on the enterprise, and nothing could turn him. He

therefore bade adieu to Mr. Scott; buried all the stores that he did not wish to carry with them, and set forward the same day.

The party now consisted of Mr. Eyre, the overseer, the three native boys, nine horses, one Timor pony, one foal, and six sheep; the foal quite young, being foaled at Streaky Bay. The flour which they left buried at Fowler's Bay was calculated for nine weeks, with a proportionate quantity of tea and sugar. The next day they only arrived in time at the place where they had buried some flour and water in casks, just to save the flour from the natives, who had found the deposit, drunk or spilled the water, and broken open the flour ready to carry away or destroy it. In addition to this, they were here persecuted by the kangaroo fly, a large, greyish, horse-fly, with a tremendous power of blood-sucking.

On March the 3rd they had reached Yeer-Kumban-Kauwe, through the same excessive drought, and continually blinded by flying sand, which with the intense heat, and the horse-flies, was a severe torment. Thus they struggled onward till the 12th of March; their sheep obliged to be left behind; their horses fast failing for want of water. Then, having found water by digging, they went back to bring up the sheep, which arrived in wretched plight. Then pausing till the 18th, they again went on through the same miserable country, and under the same killing circumstances, pursued by swarms of horse-flies. On the way Mr. Eyre managed to examine the lower white stratum of the cliffs, and found it of gritty chalk. Ever and anon they were compelled to send back for water, and being still 800 miles from King George's Sound, they threw away as much of their baggage as they could possibly spare, to relieve the sinking, thirst-consumed horses. Pack-saddles, water-kegs, buckets, fire-arms, ammunition, etc., were abandoned. Their sheep were now reduced to two, and their flour to 142lbs, to be divided amongst five persons. Their only items of relief were a cool wind from the north, which did not say much for a hot desert

in that quarter, from flocks of parrots which came out of that quarter, as from a better country, to join the natives in feasting on the berries of the prickly shrub already mentioned? So completely were they destitute of water, that they were compelled to seek it, like the natives, in the roots of the mallee scrub, by cutting them into short lengths, and draining them.

Soon after, the Timor pony was abandoned, then two more horses, and the overseer, who had so long endured so much, began to despair. Now they had to rise before the sun, and brush the dew from the bushes with a sponge, or with tufts of soft grass, to save their lives. After another 160 miles, they got a little more water by digging in the sand, but the horses had been sometimes four and five days together without it. Now they had only one sheep left, and only half a pound of flour each, per day: the overseer was sent back nearly fifty miles for abandoned stores. A second time they had to go back for more supplies, and on the 16th of April, they were compelled to kill a horse for its flesh. They attempted to jerk a quantity of this; that is, to cut it into small strips, and dry them in the sun, but the weather was now become damp, and it did not succeed. The native boys, too, who could devour an incredible amount of meat, stole much of it secretly, and being reprimanded for it, grew mutinous, and deserted the party. They now killed their last sheep.

Well would it have been had the two boys gone clear off; but they returned, and in the evening, whilst Mr. Eyre was in the bush watching the horses, lest these young villains should drive them off, they stole up to the camp, seized his gun and that of the overseer, and shot the overseer dead, and made off with the guns, and as much bread, mutton, tea, sugar, tobacco, and clothes as they could carry, together with a one-gallon water-keg.

Perhaps a more frightful and distressing catastrophe cannot be conceived. In the midst of so horrid a desert, yet 500 miles from the hoped-for termination of their journey, our traveller had his long-tried and faithful ser-

vant murdered by these young savages, to whom he had shown so much kindness, and found himself alone, with only one human being, he, too, a savage, whose fidelity was doubtful. The place where they were was a desert of bare stone, and Mr. Eyre had not therefore the melancholy satisfaction even of being able to bury the murdered man, for there was neither earth nor sand to cover him. He could only wrap a blanket around him, and leave him to the elements and the birds of prey. In this sorrowful condition, for some days expecting that he might be himself shot down during the darkness of the evenings by the two black murderers, who followed them for some time, endeavouring to draw Wylie, the King George's Sound black after them, Mr. Eyre now struggled on for 150 miles further, his horses, as well as himself, ready to sink from exhaustion. The horses, on arriving, on the 3rd of May, at water in the sand, had been seven days without it, and with very little of the dry and scorched-up grass for their support. He himself and Wylie had had only so much water in their keg as made them a few spoonfuls of tea each day.

They had now, however, fairly got past all the cliffs bounding the great Bight, and already there were symptoms of a change of character in the country. They began to see more greenness, and here and there a banksia tree. Black cockatoos were visible—another sign of water. Three days they rested themselves and horses here, speculating on the fate of the two murderous fugitives, whom Mr. Eyre thought would perish from starvation, if not by the hands of the natives. But the natives presented, probably, the greatest peril, for as these blacks can exist on the roasted roots of the mallee scrub, and can find sufficient water in them before cooking, they might, by the shot of an occasional bird or kangaroo, travel back to their own district, if the spear of the hostile natives did not terminate their worthless existence. After a few more days' painful toiling onward, they were compelled to kill another horse, and Mr.

Eyre on this occasion gives some astonishing proofs of the appetite of an Australian savage.

"The poor animal was shot, and Wylie and I were soon busily employed in skinning him. Leaving me to continue this operation, Wylie made a fire close to the carcase, and as soon as he could get at a piece of the flesh, he commenced roasting it, and continued alternately roasting, working, and cooking. After cutting off about 100 pounds of the best meat, and hanging it in strips upon the trees until our departure, I handed over to Wylie the residue of the carcase, feet, entrails, flesh, skeleton, and all, to cook and consume as he pleased, while we were in the neighbourhood. Before dark he had made an oven, and roasted about twenty pounds, to feast upon during the night. * * * Wylie, during the night, made a sad and dismal groaning, and complained of being very ill from pain in his throat, the effect, he said, of having to work too hard. I did not find that his indisposition interfered greatly with his appetite, for nearly every time I awoke during the night, I found him up, and gnawing away at his meat. He was literally fulfilling the promise he had made me in the evening; 'By and bye, you see, massa, me'pta' (eat) all night.'

"The next morning, Wylie, knowing that this was his last opportunity, was busy with the skeleton of the horse, and never ceased eating, till we moved on in the afternoon." That day they only went eight miles, and, finding grass there, rested for the night. The next day, after plunging through deep and heavy sands, they came again to grass and water. They were both ill with eating tough horse-flesh, but this did not prevent Wylie still gorging himself. "Between last night's supper and this morning's breakfast," says Mr. Eyre, "he had got through six and a half pounds of solid cooked flesh, weighed out, and free from bone, and he then complained that he had so little water, for the well had fallen in, and he was too lazy to clean it out, he could hardly eat at all. On an average he could consume nine pounds of meat per day. I used myself from two to three, when undergoing very great exertion."

As they halted at this spot from May the 11th to the 16th, or five days, Wylie had a fine opportunity of testing his digestive powers, and he tried these to the utmost. After his feasts he would lie down, and roll, and groan, and say he was very ill, and it would have been a miracle if he had not been so. Mr. Eyre thought some fish would be an agreeable variety to their fare, and desired Wylie to go down to the shore, and catch some, but he was much too full to stir.

On the 16th of May they were within view of a jagged peak, which Mr. Eyre named Mount Ragged, and the basis rock of the country here changed, being a coarse, imperfect kind of grey granite. They travelled now along the shore, though very sandy, but by this means they avoided the rough scrub higher on the land. Signs of improvement in the country continued. Mountain-ducks were now for the first time seen on the shore, and the trunk of a very large tree was washed up, the first they had seen through the whole journey westward. There was also actually a few drops of water trickling down a granite rock, the only running water they had seen since leaving Streaky Bay. Still the country both on the shore and farther on land was heavy with sand, and they had frequently to dig twice a day for water. Both they and the horses were nearly worn out, and Mr. Eyre himself says that, when seated to rest, he felt no inclination to move on again. It was necessary to call forth all his energy of mind to conquer this pleasing, dreamy carelessness, which indulged would have been fatal.

On the 18th Wylie managed to shoot a kangaroo, and performed the following feat of gormandizing:—"He commenced by eating a pound and a half of horse flesh, and a little bread. He then eat the entrails, paunch, liver, lights, tail, and two hind legs of the young kangaroo. Next followed a penguin, which he found dead on the beach; upon this he forced down the whole of the hide of the kangaroo, singing the hair off; and wound up this meal by swallowing the tough skin of

the penguin. For once he admitted that his belly was full; he made a little fire, and lay down to sleep, and dream of the pleasures of eating, nor do I think he was ever happier in his life than at that moment."—Vol. ii. p. 42.

A little inside Point Malcolm, about thirty miles beyond the 124° of east longitude, they found traces of Europeans, who had slept on the shore near the beach, and upon one of the tea-trees, which now became frequent, they found cut, "Ship Julian, 1840," "Haws, 1840, C. W.," and some few other letters which Mr. Eyre did not copy. The weather was now growing very wet, and as they had abandoned all their clothes except their trousers, boots, shirt, and hat, on account of the previous heat, they began to suffer greatly from the cold. Grass-trees now began to appear, as well as thick clumps of the tea-tree. But they had very little water; yet as the grass was plentiful, they remained at Point Malcolm till the 26th, nearly a week. During this time they occasionally killed a kangaroo, when Wylie always repeated his gorge, swallowing entrails, skin, and everything. They also caught abundance of crabs.

In starting afresh, they steered direct for Cape Arid, cutting off Cape Pasley, and encamping, after a stage of eighteen miles, on a ridge timbered with casuarina, and abounding with grass. Once more they were in a country where trees were found, and again were able at night to make fires of large logs. They had now crossed the level bank which had so long shut out the interior from them: gradually it had declined in elevation, until at last it merged in the surrounding country. To the north of them they saw and named the Russell Ranges after Lord John Russell, then secretary for the colonies. They constituted the first break in the country along this coast for 500 miles. At their feet were stretched heathy slopes, scattered with grass-trees, and at intervals expanses of grassy land. On May the 25th, near Cape Arid, they were enabled to water the horses from a pool of rain water in a hollow of the rocks, and not from

buckets, as they had done through the whole previous journey. Grass-trees became abundant, and for the first time, on the 28th, they found the Zamia; but the horse-fly was again very persecuting.

On halting after a heavy day on the 29th, Wylie gave a curious proof of the selfishness of the uncultivated savage. He had killed two opossums; one of these he deliberately cooked and eat for his supper, and put the other away. Mr. Eyre asked him what he intended to do with that. He said he should want it for his breakfast in the morning. Now, although he had all the way shared liberally what Mr. Eyre had killed with his gun, or caught in the sea, as well as of the flesh of the horses killed, and though Mr. Eyre had nothing now but a little flour for supper or breakfast, it never crossed his brain that he ought to offer a part to his companion. Mr. Eyre quietly said he quite approved of Wylie's plan, as in future it would enable himself to keep all that he procured. This at once opened the eyes of his understanding, and he made haste to put the other opossum at Mr. Eyre's disposal.

The next day they actually came upon a small fresh water lake, the first permanent standing sheet of water for more than 600 miles. There were about it, clumps of what the people of King George's Sound call cabbage-trees, and patches of rich pasture land along the water-course. From Lucky Bay they had only now 300 miles to the Sound, but as far as Doubtful Bay they expected some desert country, Flinders having named no fewer than three hills, Mounts Barren, in that portion of the coast. As they approached Thistle Cove, their flour running very short, and not having the good fortune to shoot anything, Mr. Eyre resolved, on reaching the cove, to kill the foal for eating, but to his joyful surprise, he there saw a whaling ship at anchor. It was a French vessel, the "Mississippi," but commanded by Captain Rossiter, an Englishman. Here they were most hospitably received on board, obtained warm clothes, got their horses shod by a smith who accom-

panied them to land, and procured all necessary stores to last them to the Sound. Their troubles might now be said to be over, and the enterprise as good as accomplished. From June 2nd to June 15th, or a fortnight, Mr. Eyre and Wylie lived comfortably on board, thus completely recruiting themselves, whilst their horses on shore did the same amongst grass, which, if not plentiful, was better than they had generally had for a long time past.

Mr. Eyre was surprised to learn at what a rate Captain Rossiter had procured live stock at Madagascar for the ship, a sheep cost a tumbler full of gunpowder, and a bullock ten wine-bottles full, and all else in proportion. He was also amused with the French smith's mode of shoeing a horse, a plan which most travellers, however, must have seen in most countries on the continent, namely, instead of taking the horse's foot between his knees, having another man to hold the leg whilst he put the shoe on. During their stay in Thistle Cove, a party of natives came down to the shore, Wylie could perfectly understand them, and through him, Mr. Eyre learned that these natives had never seen white people before the Mississippi anchored here. They said the interior, as far as they were acquainted with it, was similar to what they saw. That there was an abundance of water in the valleys in small wells; that there was a lake and a fresh-water river, but little or no wood anywhere.

After having experienced the greatest kindness from Captain Rossiter of the whaler, Mr. Eyre and Wylie again set forward on their way, their horses well loaded with provisions. The granite formation prevailed, and banksia trees of many different kinds enlivened the country. They found running streams of water, and feed for the horses. They passed salt lakes, on which abounded swans, ducks, and wild-fowls of many kinds. Again they passed salt lakes, and a salt water river. On the 23rd of June they saw the Rocky Islets out at sea, and the eastern Mount Barren in view. On the 28th they were abreast of Mount Barren, and thought it

well named, the country around being of the most wretched and arid character. The ranges appeared to be of quartz and micacious slate, and the strata to be projected in rugged masses and all perpendicular. Between the ranges and the sea, stretched salt lakes, where they saw natives fishing.

On the evening of June 30th, they caught sight of the hills lying immediately behind King George's Sound. On the 1st of July, from their camping place, West Mount Barren, bore E. 8° N., Middle Mount Barren, E. 21° N., and Rugged Mountains behind the Sound W. 45° S. They now found their progress greatly interrupted by deep ravines and gorges; and on the 3rd of July, they had much difficulty in crossing a large salt water river. On the 4th they saw Bald Island lying S.W. And came upon well timbered land, and crossed the tracks of horses of recent date, the first symptoms of their approach to civilized haunts. On the 6th they had to wade breast-high, Mr. Eyre seven times, to get all the horses safe through. Four miles further they found it impossible to get the horses over King's River, after many attempts. For three days and nights they had never had their clothes dry, and they, therefore, determined to leave the horses on the banks of the King, where they had plenty of grass, and walk on to Albany, and they soon stood on the heights above the town, which they entered, much to the joy of Wylie's friends and relatives living there. Mr. Eyre was also most hospitably received by the Government resident, Mr. Phillips, by the family of Mr. Sherrat, former acquaintances, by Lady Spencer, and others. On the 13th, Mr. Eyre set sail for Adelaide, on board the "Truelove," where he arrived on the 26th of July, after an absence of one year and twenty-six days. And thus was accomplished one of the most daring and arduous journeys, through some of the most desolate and inhospitable regions of the Australian continent. It was not the fortune of Mr. Eyre to discover much good country, or any great and navigable rivers. But he

demonstrated the uselessness of any attempt, at all events for many years to come, to open a high road overland from Adelaide to King George's Sound.

In the first part of his expedition he discovered and examined a tract of country to the north of Adelaide, previously unknown, of about 270 miles in length, extending between the parallels 34° 40′, and 29°, south. In longitude that part of his route before unknown, extends between the parallels of 138° E., and 118° 40′ E., or about 1060 miles of direct distance. These being connected with the previously known portions of the South-western, South-eastern, and part of Southern Australia, complete the examination of the whole of the south line of the coast of this continent. In the early part of the expedition of 1840, the continuation of Flinders Range from Mount Arden was traced, and laid down to its termination near the parallel of 29° S. There Mr. Eyre thought he had found an impassable barrier in the lake which he named Lake Torrens, the northern portion of which he, however, confounded with Lake Gregory, which the researches of Gregory since have clearly distinguished, and shown to be still more northward, and to sweep round eastward towards Lake Blanch, which Mr. Eyre imagined to constitute all one immense water.

In returning from this northern expedition, Eyre coasted Spencer's Gulf down to Port Lincoln, and thence to Streaky Bay, as he had before struck a line from Mount Arden to Streaky Bay by Gawler's Range, thus completing a triangle on that sterile peninsula since called after him. The character of the coast traversed by him in 1841 may be given in his own words :—"Continuing the line to the westward, the expedition passed through the most wretched and desolate country imaginable, consisting almost entirely of a table-land, or of undulating ridges, covered for the most part with dense scrubs, and almost wholly without grass or water. The general elevation of this country was from three to

five hundred feet, and all of the tertiary deposit, with primary rocks protruding at intervals.

"The first permanent fresh water met with on the surface was a small fresh-water lake, beyond the parallel of 123° E.; but from Mount Arden to that point, a distance of fully 800 miles in a direct line, none whatever was found on the surface, if I except a small, solitary spring, sunk in the rock at Streaky Bay. During the whole of this vast distance not a water-course, not a hollow of any kind was crossed; the only water to be obtained was by digging close to the sea-shore, or the sand-hills of the coast, and even by that means it frequently could not be procured for distances of 150 and 160 miles together."

In 1843 Captain Frome, the Surveyor-General of South Australia went over much of Mr. Eyre's track, along Lake Torrens, and as far as Mount Serle, which, besides correcting some of Mr. Eyre's positions, who had omitted in his calculations to include the variations of the needle, tended to confirm his description of the country in that direction. In the autumn of the same year the adventurous Captain Sturt made an expedition northward into the interior, starting from the Darling, which will immediately demand our attention.

After his return from his arduous expedition, Mr. Eyre was appointed magistrate at Moorunde, on the Murray. Subsequently he became deputy-governor of the Cape of Good Hope, and is at present Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of Jamaica.

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